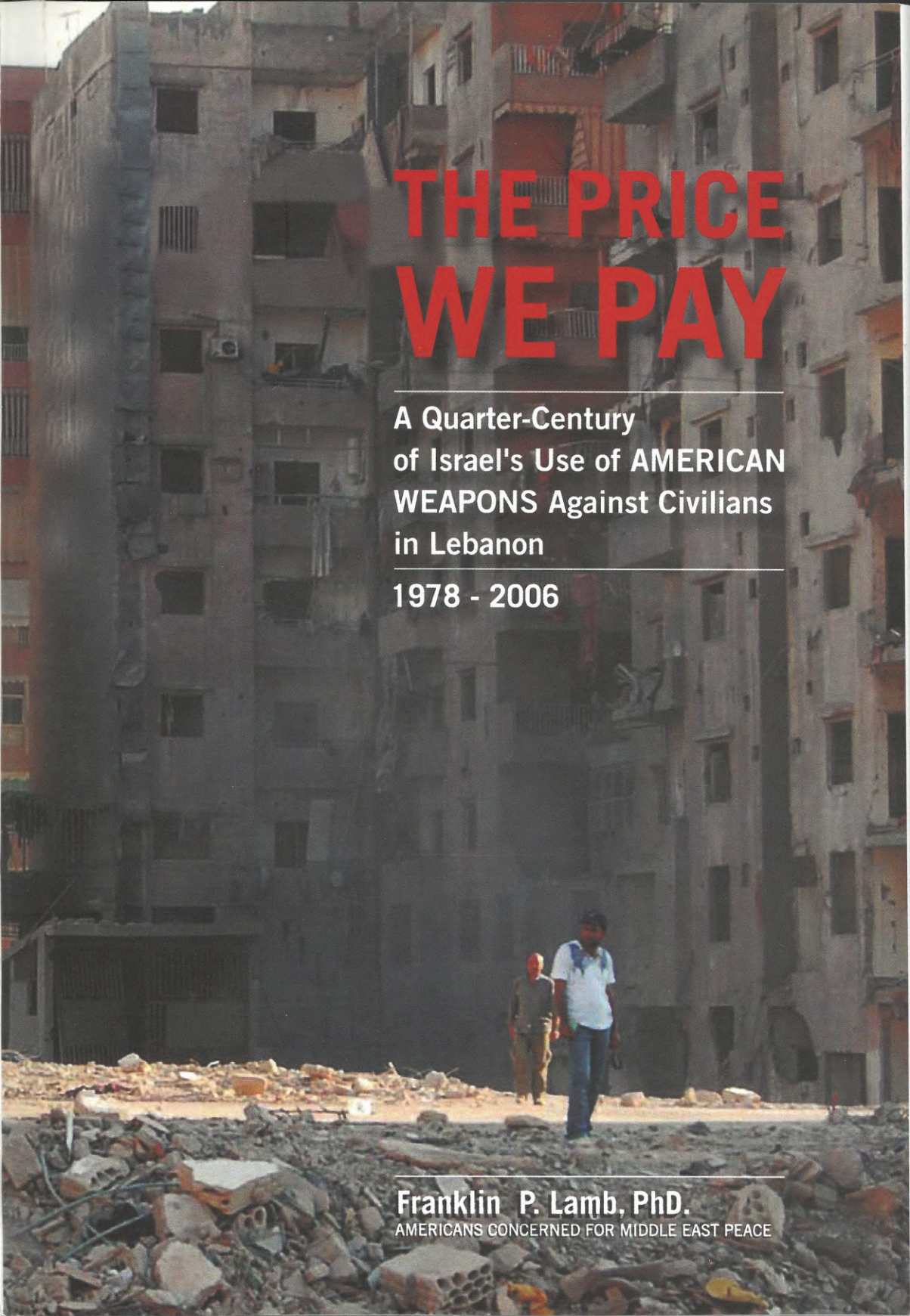

THE PRICE WE PAY

A Quarter-Century of Israel's Use of AMERICAN WEAPONS Against Civilians in Lebanon

1978 - 2006

Franklin P. Lamb, PhD.
AMERICANS CONCERNED FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Acknowledgements

The eight-month odyssey, which led to the following report, was improbable from the start. Inspired by an enduring passion for justice in Palestine, and traumatized by the escalating July 2006 war, I decided to bear witness and travel to Lebanon to update an earlier study of Israel's use of American weapons. It was to be a quick trip, one that wouldn't exceed two weeks!

It was an irresponsible decision, to be sure, given the uncertainty of events on the ground and my lack of financial backing. But nevertheless, it was one that my gut told me had to be made.
During the Israeli invasion of 1982, I had spent the summer in Beirut, producing the volume Israel's War in Lebanon (South End Press, 1984), which documented the use of American weapons in that conflict and those leading up to it. When I arrived late last July many memories from that time flooded back-though they had been long stashed in the alleys of the Palestinian refugee camps and the musty rooms of abandoned houses and high-rises-doomed, it seemed, to become reality again a quarter-century later.

It's not reasonable to assume that those who weren't there will ever comprehend the impact of the 1982 Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon. But the descriptions offered by Osama Bin Laden and his adversaries, including Hezbollah and many others around the world, of this event and its seismic influence on their lives and actions are by now common tales.

Congress' support for this invasion, as well as for Israel's aggressions in 1978, 1981, 1982, 1993, 1996, and 2006 and its brutal occupation of Palestine, is what has made international crimes against Lebanon possible. For the past 30 years, at the expense of U.S. security, our Congress has blindly funded and condoned Israel's bellicose behavior, green-lighting thousands of violations of Lebanese sovereignty and tens of thousands civilian deaths in the name of Israel's self-defense. The question now on everyones' minds is, Will Congress do it again?-as many here accuse the Bush administration of trying to provoke a second Lebanese civil war as a means of silencing the Lebanese Resistance?
One often hears that Lebanon's democracy is unique and that its 18 sects or confessions are both a blessing and a curse. It's less likely to hear even the most well-informed and politically sophisticated Lebanese taxi driver, shop-

keeper, or student-and there are many-name them all. Nevermind. What's important is that every one of them contributed greatly to an understanding of the Lebanon that so many researchers have joined to present in this report. And I speak on all our behalf, extending humble thanks for their taking the time to teach us.

We benefited enormously from help and friendship graciously extended by Sunni, Shi'a, Alawi, and Druze Muslims. We sat with Christian sects, including Assyrians, Syriac Catholics, Syriac Orthodox, Chaldeans, Maronites, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholics, evangelicals, as well as with Lebanese Jews, agnostics, and atheists.

As we finish our work, and bid ma'a salaama, à bientot, and 'see you again,' to this unique, wonderful trilingual country, so desperately wanting and seeking peace, we feel kinship with them all.

For when it comes to the responsibility to resist foreign aggression, such as the July War, against this land, are not all people of goodwill Lebanese? Are we not all Lebanese Muslims, Christians, and Jews and are we not all Hezbollah and Maronites when it comes to the defense of universally recognized human rights and the right to live in peace?
In our report we have not included graphic and horrific photographs showing people blown to pieces or other images of raw slaughter, even though we have seen dozens. In a few instances some judgments are expressed that you, dear reader, would share more readily had you also climbed through the rubble of more than 90 villages in South Lebanon and investigated what had happened there.

If we are tough in our analysis of the role of the U.S. Congress, my former employer, it is because we love our country and believe we Americans must take back our Middle East policy from Israel, a country that demands and receives more than $15.1 million every day of the year from U.S. taxpayers, but whose values and disregard for human life we Americans do not accept.

Sometimes we tone down our emotions so as not to mire the message in rhetoric. At other times, however, we have resisted occasional advice to sugar-coat events or watch our words as a strategy to appeal to Congress and convince them to change their ways or avoid the charge of anti-

Semitism so frequently levied by the Israel lobby. At all times, we sought to present accurately the crimes against the victims who do not have the power of the U.S. Congress or the Israeli lobby behind them, but who nevertheless represent the truth.

We followed where the facts led. We would not have succeeded without the help of many throughout Lebanon, and elsewhere, particularly the following (respecting their privacy, we have omitted family names):

Tarek, Hugh, Maysam, Ibrahim, Jaafar, Jessica, Mohammed, Mouir, Caroline, Bilal, Rana, Dalya, Jihad, Ghassan, Tima, Ahmad, Issa, Adnan, Imad, Ana, Marina, Khalil, Maya, Rachael, Ali, Judith, Rashya, Robert, Hussam, Walid, Ron, Wafa, Nawal, Ghada, Houssam, Chris, Suleiman, Hasan, Moly, Michel, Saed, Eugene, Sonia, Fatima, Naim, Peter, Marcy, Kathleen, Amal, Gilly, Mac, Sari, Hisham, Rita, Nadim, Zeinab, David, Hussein, Linda, Tawfik, Allan, Andrew, Ziad, Sheryl, Omar, Sheryl, Mary, Ronnie Mae, Monsignor John, Reverend Terrence, Timur, Aliya, Nina, Fatima, Taher, Alison, Janet, and countless others.

My apology and unconditional love to Louisa, Fairouz, and Alistair in the United States for spending far too much time away from them. Whenever these past months I was tired, fed-up, discouraged, hungry, miserable, or sometimes, following a long emotional day in villages in the South, just plain sad, I would think of them. Thoughts that always brought a smile, tears of love, and renewed energy.

We are very grateful to all the Lebanese government ministries who freely provided us with government data and assistance; the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon; the United Nations Mine Action Coordination Council in Tyre; the Lebanese Army and its National Demining Office; various units of the Lebanese Resistance; and the more than 20 nongovernmental organizations identified below.

Finally, we extend our heartfelt thanks to the American University of Beirut, its administration, faculty, students, and staff, and the Institute of Palestine Studies.

Any and all errors in this volume are mine alone.

Franklin Lamb,PhD
American Universiy of Beirut
Beirut, Lebanon
March17, 2007

THE PRICE WE PAY

A Quarter Century of Israel's Use of AMERICAN WEAPONS Against Civilians in Lebanon

1978 - 2006

A Report to the American People, the United States Congress, and the International Community.

Franklin P. Lamb, PhD.
AMERICANS CONCERNED FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE

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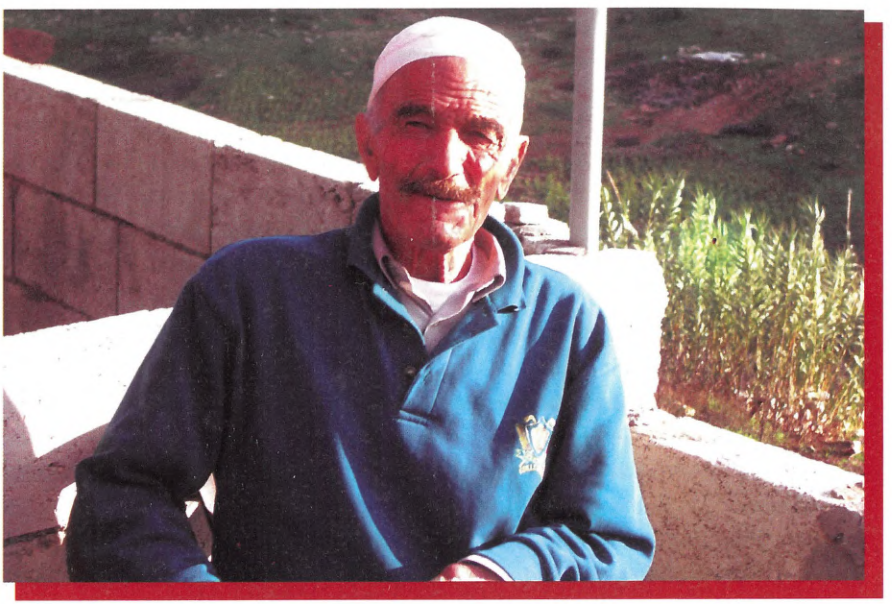
Dedication

> *"O God, whose law it is that he who learns must suffer. And even in our sleep pain that cannot forget, falls drop by drop upon the heart, and in our own despite, against our will, comes wisdom to us by the awesome grace of God.*
>
> *Aeschylus, 458 BC*

We humbly dedicate this Report to Farris Ali Mustafa from the Lebanese village of Maron al Ras, on the border with Palestine, as an iconic symbol of this great country's resistance to Israel's 2006 aggression.



Eighty-two year old Farris Mustafa's house in Maron al Ras appears to be less than 200 yards from his sacred Palestine, separated by the 'blue line'. Ferris was born in this house in the Spring of 1924, in the early post-Ottoman period when more than 800,000 Palestinians or 84% of the population, lived in general harmony with Palestine's nearly 8,000 Jews--often attending each other's holidays, caring for each others children, and respecting each others traditions and beliefs. As a boy Ferris would simply walk across the border to visit friends in Palestinian villages, Muslims, Christians and Jews.

Farris likes to reminisce about the days before the 'betrayal by the British', the massive Zionist-organized immigration invasion from Europe, and the ethnic cleansing of the native Palestinian population by European Zionists during al Nakba. As Farris looks from his porch into Palestine, he objects to those who came from far away to take a land they had never lived on and to which they had no claim or right.

On July 22, 2006 Israeli tanks roared into his border village of Maron Al Ras--eventually to withdraw nearly three weeks later following heavy loses, including loosing thirty Merkava tanks in one day. Israeli forces withdrew without being able to take control of the town center of Maron al Ras, or for that matter, to find many resistant fighters except when ambushed by them, Ferris explained. Later it was reported that the Italian government cancelled a contract with Israel to purchase 200 Merkava tanks. According to Franco Sanvatelli of the Office of Defense Procurement in Rome, Obviously the Israeli product is deficient.

The Israeli forces arrived at Farris Mustafa's house on the southern outskirts of the village in a long column of tanks, one of which they parked five feet from his house for about ten days before deciding they should not try to enter the town center.Approaching his house, Israeli reservists shouted at Farris and rousted him from his porch rocking chair, which they immediately smashed. They pushed him to the ground and dragged him to the street and called in US supplied 155mm HE artillery round to broadside his house. They also called in a US supplied, internationally banned, 127mm white phosphorus round which entered the upper floor of his house and burned it. The intense heat melted framed photos on his walls. Farris' eleven-year old grandson showed American visitors a bouquet of plastic flowers that had been in his mother's bedroom since her wedding day, and was now a glob of crystallized plastic.

The Israeli soldier in charge threatened to shoot Farris in the face if Farris did not abandon his house. The officer ordered his troops to put guns to Farris' head and more than a dozen did. Farris looked them in the eye and sage, that he is, and having much experience with Israeli soldiers during their twenty two year occupation of his village simply refused. He said 'no' in Hebrew. He stood his ground. Thinking of al Nakba, he said to the sallow youth, I refuse to leave my home. Kill me if that is what your God commands you to do.

Enraged, the Israeli soldiers looked into Farris' eyes, his rugged face, and they appeared puzzled, Farris thought. The officer spit in his face and threw him to the ground. Others joined in and kicked his eighty two year old body, at least three soldiers struck him with their US supplied M-16 automatic rifles, cursed his very being, his mother, his country and his God and then they turned and left, retreating up the road toward the next house, apparently leaving Farris for dead.

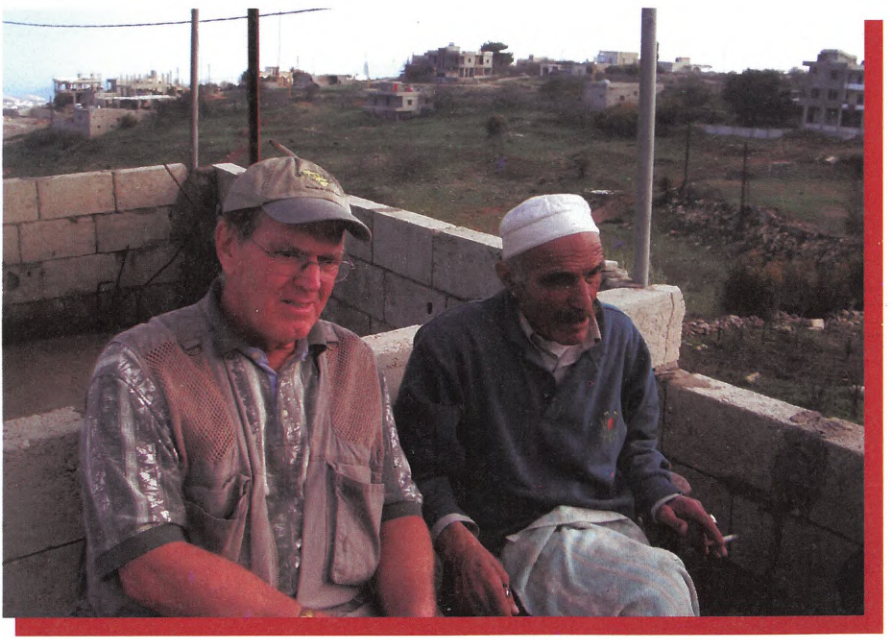
Mustafa Farris spent the remainder of the July war is his house and when the Israelis finally did withdraw and crossed back into Palestine, Farris prepared tea for his non-existent neighbors, repaired his smashed rocking chair and, smoking his water pipe, gazed deep into Palestine musing that his grandson may someday cross freely into Palestine as he himself had done as a youth.

GF24

Farris is, for his fellow villagers and for more than 500 villages across the South of Lebanon, as well as for all humanity, a symbol of the Lebanese resistance. There are countless Lebanese like him. And it has been our distinct honor to meet many of them. May history forever record, that on July 22, 2006 Farris Ali Mustafa defeated Zionism at Maron al Ras.

To paraphrase the English writer Rudyard Kipling and the late and much-loved scholar, Clyde Chester Lamb Sr., late of Hampshire, England and Milwaukie, Oregon, US--and a once servant of his Majesty King George V, having been seconded to a British battalion in Flanders, Belgium during WW I, or as Clyde Lamb would tell his children during story time, what the English called the Great War

Though they cursed you and belted you and then the miserable cowards flayed you, by the living God that made you, you're a far better man than I am, Farris Ali Mustafa.



Farris Mustafa's view into Palestine from the roof of his house. The roads seen in the distance, just over the 'blue line' are among twenty-four routes Israeli forces use when they invade Lebanon. In the July 2006 war Hezbollah forces guessed correctly each of the four routes that Israel would use this time and they were lying in wait.

F. Lamb photo

THE PRICE WE PAY:

A Quarter Century of Israel's Use of American Weapons Against Civilians in Lebanon (1978-2006)

> *"We try to minimize their use. We use them in designated areas that have been closed even by Hezbollah itself."*
>
> *Gen. Benny Grantz, Commander of Israel's ground forces, July 26, 2006*

> *"We've investigated cluster munitions in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq, but we've never seen use of cluster munitions that was so extensive and dangerous to civilians*
>
> *Source: Steve Goose, director of the Human Rights Watch arms division, January 30, 2007*

> *"We should prepare to go over to the offensive. Our aim is to smash Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Syria. The weak point is Lebanon, for the Muslim regime is artificial and easy for us to undermine. We shall establish a Christian state there, and then we will smash the Arab Legion, eliminate Trans-Jordan, and Syria will fall to us.*
>
> *David Ben-Gurion, From «Ben-Gurion, A Biography» by Michael Ben-Zohar, May 1948*

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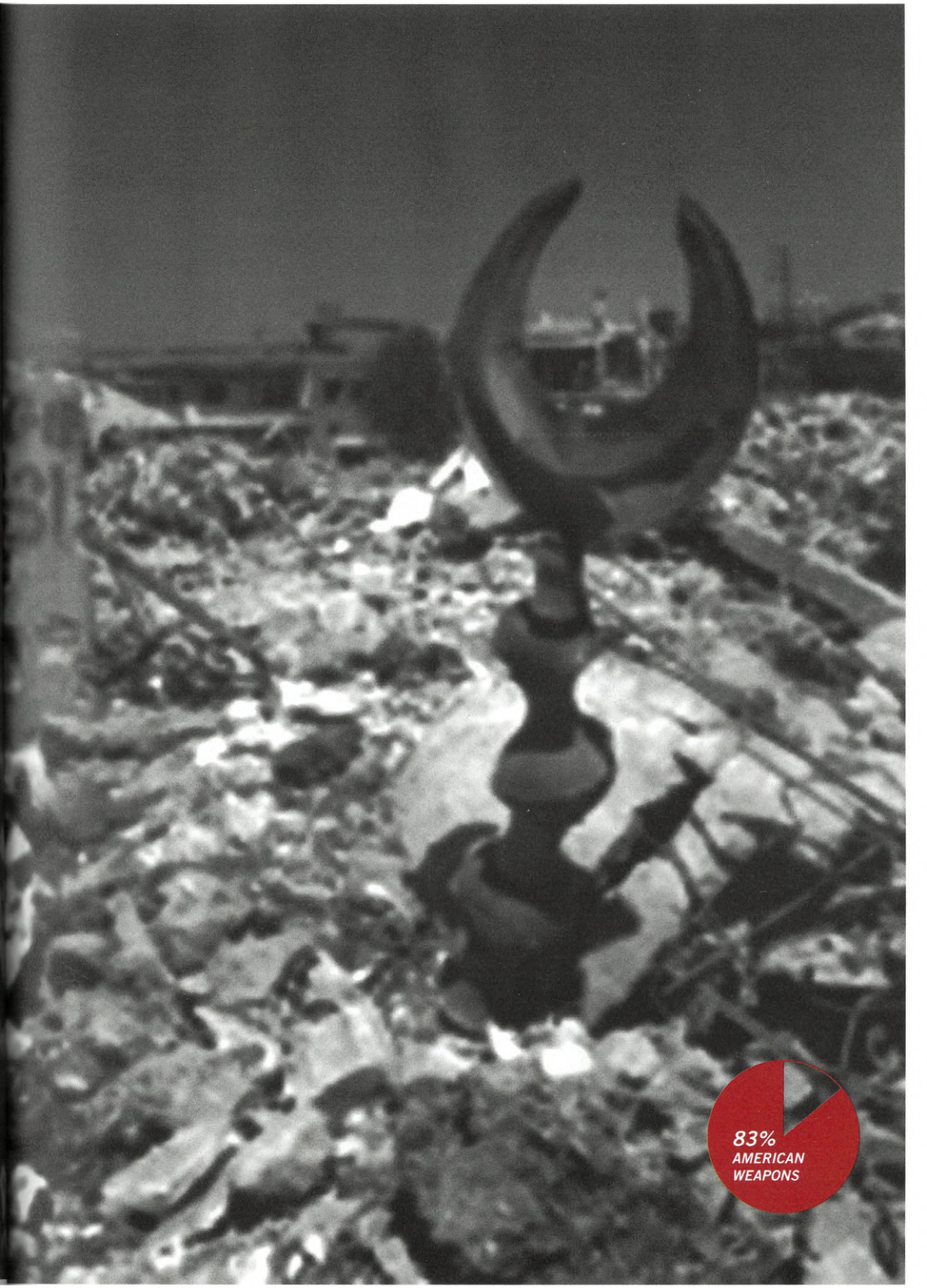
Israel of course has only the **deepest respect** for buildings of religious importance to anyone

Even Mosques

Israeli spokesman, Mark Regev. August 4, 2006

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: UNEP photo of Mosque bombed on August 5, 2006 near Eita el Shab.


83%
AMERICAN
WEAPONS

"In the last 72 hours we fired all the munitions we had, all at the same spot, we didn't even alter the direction of the gun. Friends of mine in the battalion told me they also fired everything in the last three days - ordinary shells, clusters, whatever they had.

Anonymous Israeli reservist in an artillery battalion, quoted in Ha'aretz, *September 8, 2006*

PICTURE ABOVE: BOY IN THE SANAYEH GARDEN ....
Photography: Hussam Hawwa, July 2006

I. INTRODUCTION

The July 2006 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the thirty three - day bombardment which killed or wounded Lebanese civilians at the average rate of 166 each day, and which caused more than $ seven billion in destruction has again raised serious legal and political issues about Israel's use of American weapons, including cluster bombs. Issues that must be addressed concern the restoration of America's moral compass, the nature of its democracy, and its international status.

For more than a quarter-century, from 1978 to 2006, Israel has used American weapons against the civilian population of Lebanon in violation of international and American law. (Laws which our government has allowed no other country than a side from Israel to habitually violate). Our country's acceptance and support for Israel's actions are in violation of all our purported enlightment values.

While Israel's aggression against Lebanon date from before its 1978 invasion and attacks against Lebanon in the interim years, its devastating July 1981 bombing of the Beirut neighborhood of Fakhani signaled an intension to remold

Lebanon's power structure. Israel's June 1982 invasion and occupation, and its attacks in 1993 and 1996 comprise a twenty two - year occupation and a series of aggressions against Lebanon. It was during this period that Israel increasingly relied on American funding to enable it to enforce and expand its occupation of Palestine. While US aid to Israel quadrupled, Israel came to rely almost exclusively on US weapons. This period, from 1967 to the late-1980 also saw a dramatic spiraling of Israeli attacks on Lebanon's civilian population with American anti-personnel weapons, including seven types of American cluster bombs. This period also saw nearly daily Israeli violations of Lebanese sovereignty by over flights or cross border incursions.

The US Congress, and successive American administrations, in transferring American weapons to Israel were aware, during to a growing international outcry and media reports, that American weapons were being used for the enforcement of Israel's will on Lebanon. Just as it had been doing during its thirty nine - year occupation of Palestine.

Israel involved itself in the 1975-1990 Lebanese civil war, arming factions perceived as willing to support its goals, including Lebanese militias with American Weapons, equipped and directed during the September 14-16, 1982, massacre at the Shatilla Palestinian refugee camps and in the adjoining Sabra area.

Presented below are the findings of an investigation prepared for the American public and the international community on the subject of Israel's attacks on the civilian population and infrastructure of Lebanon using American weapons.

During the period under review (1978-2006) Israel has received in excess of $120 billion from the US Congress. Israel has spent roughly two-thirds of this amount on weapons and to maintain its brutal occupation of Palestine. This congressional largesse has been to the great detriment of America - economically, socially, and politically, and has resulted in the death and severe wounding of more than 155,000 Lebanese and Palestinians.

Currently, Israel receives more than $15,139,178 every day of the

calendar year. Israel spends roughly two - thirds of this amount on its military and for weapons to maintain its illegal colonies in Palestine, a system increasingly viewed as apartheid.

The examination below offers the reader an explanation of how it is possible, that in a democracy like the United States, elected representatives would be able to consistently transfer enormous amounts of American taxpayer money, against the interests and needs of their own constituents, These Voters require these funds to upgrade their own communities, but their representatives in Congress send their tax money to Israel. These members habitually act in the abject service of a foreign government that does not share the American people's fundamental human values. Those values of the right of all people to enjoy the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and self- determination.

Individuals contributing to this research visited many of the villages of southern Lebanon, from Atta el-Shaeb, to Bint Jbeil, Maroun al-Ras, Bida, Aitaroun, and beyond, including the Christian villages of Marjayoun and Rmeich. The scope of examination includes the use of American weapons by Israel to destroy Lebanon's infrastructure, including more than 134 bridges, nighty four roads, thousands of houses, hundreds of factories, fuel stations, warehouses, dams, schools, churches, mosques, hospitals, ambulances, civil defenses centers, and the bombing of a UN base as well as to occupy Lebanon's Mediterranean territorial waters. In addition, researchers examined Israel's pollution of the eastern Mediterranean after the bombing of the Jiyye fuel tanks, including Lebanon's beaches and thirty km of the Syrian waters and shores beyond. All of this destruction was accomplished by Israel using American weapons.

This environmental contamination was caused by American 500 and 1,000 pound bombs and released more than 15,000 tons of oil from the Jiyye power plant's fuel storage tanks on July 13 and 15, 2006. The result of this attack was devastating to Lebanon's fishing industry and poisoning more than 150 km of the Lebanese any Syrian coast line. Israel's action will continue to affect the human population, as carcinogenic hydrocarbons settle into the sea bed. An act of eco-terrorism, Israel's attacks constitute the worst case of marine pollution in Lebanon's history.

The applicable American laws, quite apart from international humanitarian laws in the form of Treaties, Conventions in Force and International Customary Law, include the 1976 US Arms Export Act, the Foreign Assistance Act and the Humanitarian Aid Corridor Act 1996. These are fundamental American laws, which the President and Congress have sworn to uphold. These US laws mandate that American arms and aid be cut off from any nation that uses American weapons for other than defensive purposes or against a civilian population, as part of a pattern of gross human rights violations or in military actions in a way that obstructs the provision of humanitarian aid to another country. In 2006 alone, Israel qualifies to lose its aid on all four counts.

This report endeavors to present only information that has been reliably vetted and confirmed by eyewitnesses, numerous international humanitarian organizations and NGOs working in Lebanon directly on the scene. We have also considered and evaluated verified media reports, United Nations agencies including the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations International Children Emergency Fund, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and Lebanese Red Crescent reports, and most importantly, the victims themselves.

The material presented here also considers the effect of our government's foreknowledge, acquiescence, and complicity in Israel's pre-planned invasion. We examine our individual and our government's moral and legal responsibility for what many observers consider to be serial war crimes committed with American weapons. After providing the weapons with which these crimes have been committed, this complicity and responsibility derives foremost from the US government's repeated refusals to consider international calls for an immediate ceasefire, indulging Israel's (and the Bush administration's) desire to let the war—now widely accepted to be a carefully orchestrated test run for a future attack on Iran—play itself out. As Secretary of State Rice put it on July 18, 2006, during her leisurely visit to Israel, there should be no ceasefire until conditions are conducive.

One Israeli tabloid featured a half page headline which read: 'TAKE YOUR TIME!' This headline summarized American policy but it also constituted an unintended indictment for crimes against humanity:

- **Take your time** with the terror bombing firing American TOW, Hellfire, Walleye, Maverick, Standard missiles against civilians and the MK-84 Guided Bomb BSU- 37/B (Assy) 96214-t00922-611, 2000 lb precision missile used in Qana against those 58 terrified civilians in the basement of a three story house:
- **Take your time** when using American missiles and 155mm artillery rounds, four types of U.S. cluster munitions and our arsenal of weapons against convoys of fleeing refugees in vehicles filled with terrified families. And to destroy homes and apartment buildings housing civilians, and hospitals and the poor in Beirut.
- **Take your time**, because Israel's actions are the birth pangs of the New Middle East, in destroying or damaging bridges, roads, art, schools, memories, playgrounds, agriculture, children's toys in their bedrooms, books, photographs, hope, gasoline stations, airports, seaports, wheat silos, a dairy factory, vehicles with medical supplies, clearly marked ambulances with white flags and red crosses taking the wounded to clinics.
- **Take your time** with our American weapons in your service as you pulverize shelters leaving the charred bodies of small children in the arms of parents buried in the rubble.
- **Take your time**, the President, State Department and Defense Department told Israel, in using our weapons against nearly one million Lebanese refugees as they flee, exposed to hunger, disease, lack of potable water and medicines.
- **Take your time,** a majority of our Congress repeated as they stumbled over each other jockeying for good position in line for Israel lobby cash to fund their next elections.

Each political party arguing that its support for Israel's self - defense effort was stronger and purer than the other's. Scores of flaccid Congressmen genuflecting to the Israel lobby in Washington constituting an A men chorus praising Israel's onslaught of a barbarous magnitude rarely witnessed in modern times.

We cannot avert our eyes from the consequences of an imposed delay in negotiating an immediate ceasefire and curtailing the use of U.S. weapons

against civilians in Lebanon the summer of 2006. From July 12 onwards the Lebanese resistance offered a ceasefire, with virtually unanimous support from the international community, as part of a call for a prisoner exchange.

Meanwhile, Israel's elimination of the Lebanese resistance, its stated motive in its destruction of the country's infrastructure and economy, failed at the cost of more than 1,300 lives, a toll which will forever mark our country. The moral, political, and legal culpability of the Bush administration and Congress is direct. Our representatives are answerable to the American public as Americans seeks forgiven and to regain the respect of Muslims, Arabs, and the entire international community.

American voters are increasingly making the connection between their government and Israel's aggression and are beginning to question the contradictions contained within. They have no desire to descend with what Israeli journalist Gideon Levy calls a society in moral collapse. Columnist Gideon Samet commented in Ha'aretz that Israel is a country that is going off the rails... a country of proliferating poverty, arrogant millionaires, Third World infrastructure, crumbling city centers, a miserable Knesset and broken promises. Many Americans object to funding and arming what Israeli author Michel Warschawski writes of as an Israeli madness and insane brutality, a putrefaction of civilized society that has set Israel on a suicidal course. He foresees the end of the Zionist enterprise, as do many Americans. Israel is a gang of hoodlums, Warschawski writes, a state that makes a mockery of legality and of civil morality. A state run in contempt of justice loses the strength to survive. He Concludes. This society no longer recognizes any boundaries, geographical or moral.

Those who present the report that follows are not without hope. Our country has in the past, in time of great moral crisis, rejected the prospect of the loss of its core values. Despite the ranting of the Islamophobic cabal that has hijacked our foreign policy and squandered the respect and good will of the international community, we believe that we can correct our mistakes. We ended slavery in 1865; outlawed segregation nearly 100 years later, confronted McCarthyism, and withdrew from Vietnam. The recent election results, a clear rejection of US policy in Iraq and Afghanistan, lead us to believe that such correction is once again under way.

In its Middle East policy, the Bush administration says to its fellow citizens: America! Love it or leave it! and, My Country Right or Wrong! They choose to ignore the rest of Stephen Decatur's toast, made here in the Middle East, more than 200 years ago, but when right, to be kept right, when wrong to be put right. It is this complete quote which is the motto of a true patriot and it signals and defines our work ahead.

F. P. Lamb
Qana, Lebanon
February 26, 2006

South Beirut, August 15, 2006

83% OF ISRAEL'S WEAPONS ARE AMERICAN

The amount of aid the american taxpayers are obliged to pay to israel is higher than ever before.
Israel spends more than half of its aid each year on arms and munitions, to enforce its apartheid regime in Palestine and wage war against Lebanon.

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: SCHOOL IN KHIAM BOMBED BY ISRAEL IN JULY 2006

Photography: Gabriela Bulisova, November 2006

"The political clock is right, Ayalon said «We want to do it» (request another $100 million per year in US military aid for the next six years) before the end of President Bush's term. Not because of a fear of who may come after him, but simply because of the fact that a new administration - irrespective of who it will be - will need to take its time to establish itself and may take a long time before arriving at any decisions

Source: Danny Ayalon, former Israeli Ambassador to the US and one of the organizers of the September, 1982 Sabra-Shatila massacre, quoted in the Jerusalem Post February 27, 2007

PICTURE ABOVE: THIS FAMILY FROM THE VILLAGE IN SIBQIN ESCAPED DEATH AS DID MUCH OF THEIR VILLAGE WHEN THIS US MK-84 2,000-LB BOMB FAILED TO EXPLODE WHEN IT CRASHED THROUGH THE ROOF OF THEIR HOME ON AUGUST 4, 2006. JIHAD AL-BINA, WHICH ON FEBRUARY 17, 2006 WAS ADDED TO THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S 'TERRORISM LIST' IS SEEN REMOVING THE UNEXPLODED BOMB. THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BEIRUT ANNOUNCED SHORTLY AFTER THE AUGUST 14, 2006 CEASEFIRE THAT THE US WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO HELP CLEAN UP THEIR UNEXPLODED ORDNANCE SCATTERED OVER LEBANON DUE TO 'SECURITY CONCERNS' FOR US PERSONNEL.

Photography: fplamb@gmail.com

II. US WEAPONS AND AID TO ISRAEL: AN UPWARD SPIRAL

As a direct consequence of the Israel lobby's pressure on legislators and policymakers, the US has given Israel obscene amounts of military and economic aid. Mearsheimer and Walt cite statistics from the US Agency for International Development indicating that between 1976 and 2003, the US gave Israel a total of $140 billion in aid One economist, Thomas Stauffer, who has long studied US aid to Israel, put the figure much higher in 2002, estimating a total of $240 billion in the preceding 30 years. This figure exceeds 2 trillion dollars if one includes the Iraq war and accepts the hypothesis that we would not have invaded Iraq but for the push by the pro-Israel neocons in the Bush administration. AIPAC's Congressional agents are currently seeking additional billions to compensate Israel for its fifth invasion of Lebanon in summer of 2006 as Israel prepares for its upcoming sixth aggression against Lebanon.

Much has been made in the Israeli and some American media of the Syrian and Iranian origins of weaponry used by Hezbollah in the escalating violence in Israel and Lebanon. But there has been no parallel discussion of the origin of Israel's weaponry, nearly 85% of which comes from the US Congress. Given the billions of dollars of aid it provides to Israel every year and the central role of

US - supplied weaponry in the Israeli arsenal, the United States has considerable leverage that it could use to compel Israel to respect Lebanon's sovereignty and end its occupation of Palestine. As noted below, this leverage is more theoretical than may be apparent, given the control of the US Congress by Israel and the disposition of the current leadership in Washington.

The amount of aid the American taxpayers are obliged to pay to Israel is higher than ever before and amounts to $15,139,178 every day. For a yearly total of more than $5.47 billion!. This is nearly half of all US foreign aid to the country which ranks as the sixteenth wealthiest among 192 countries and with a per capita income higher than Ireland and oil-rich Saudi Arabia. Israel spends more than half of its aid each year on arms and munitions.

Since 1992, the US has offered Israel an additional $2. billion in loan guarantees every year. Nearly all past loans to Israel have been forgiven - leading the Israel lobby to claim that Israel has never defaulted on repayment of a loan — what AIPAC and friends in Congress fail to explain is that most loans are made on the understanding that they would be forgiven before Israel was required to repay them. Since 1949 supplying Israel with weapons has cost each American taxpayer more than $25,000.

During the Bush administration, from 2001 to 2005, Israel has actually received more in US military aid than it has in US arms deliveries meaning a net cash surplus. Over this time period Israel received $10.5 billion in foreign military financing — the Pentagon's biggest military aid program — and $6.3 billion in US arms deliveries. The aid figure is larger than the arms transfer figure because it includes financing for major arms agreements for which the equipment has yet to be fully delivered. The most prominent of these deals is a $4.5 billion sale of 102 Lockheed Martin f-16s to Israel. When it comes to getting arms from the US, Israel has money in the bank.

The table below shows 'official' US aid to Israel from 1949 - 2006. Given that additional sources of aid to Israel are hidden in various governmental budgets, as well as a myriad of other channels of American aid to Israel, the figures nearly double.

Increasingly, the American public and even a few members of Congress

are arguing that $15 million a day can be better used in the US many urgent needs including schools, roads, and healthcare at home and the needed rebuilding of Post Katrina New Orleans.

Given that more than $300 billion the Bush administration has spent to date in destroying Iraq, and a recent Harvard University study that estimates that the amount will climb to more than $1 trillion within three years and maybe as high as $ 3 trillion dollars, American taxpayers are beginning to revolt as evidenced by the November 2006 mid-term elections.

More and more Americans are criticizing Israel's use of weapons in human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings and excessive use of force. In the State Department's human rights reports for 2003, 2004, and 2005, incidents mentioned include missile strikes on a refugee camp that killed six people and wounded nighteen; the shooting and killing of four Palestinian children; the demolition of Palestinian homes using tank shells, heavy machine guns, and rockets, deemed an excessive use of force, and their 2006 aggression against Beit Hanoun. In addition, the use of rocket fire in the targeted killing of leaders of Hamas, the killing of fourty seven civilians bystanders in an operation aimed at suspected terrorists in the occupied territories, and the use of tank shells, machine-gun rounds and rockets fired from aircraft against Palestinian towns and cities. The human rights reports indicate the origins of the weapons used in these cases of excessive force, targeted assassinations, and failure to protect civilians in retaliations against Palestinian attacks are overwhelmingly of US origin.

The July 30, 2006, bombing by Israel of the apartment building in Qana made use of the American-supplied MK-84 guided bomb BSE-37/B (Assy) 96214-700922-611. This weapon is a 2,000-lb precision-guided bomb. Israel knew within six inches where it would hit. Israel has more than 4000 MK-84s at the ready.

During the another major Israeli incursion into Lebanon, in June of 1982, the Reagan administration cut off US military aid and arms deliveries for ten weeks while it investigated whether Israel was using weapons for defensive purposes, as required under US law. At the end of that period, the Secretary of State Alexander Haig suggested that one could argue until eternity about whether a given use of force was offensive or defensive, and the ban was lifted. But at least

the Reagan administration took some action, which is more than can be said about the administration of George W. Bush.
The United States is the primary source of Israel's far superior arsenal.

For more than thirty years, Israel has been the largest recipient of US foreign assistance and Jerusalem has received about five billion dollars in military and economic aid each year from Washington. US aid accounts for more than twenty percent of Israel's total defense budget (see Table II).

Israel's dependence on Washington for aid and arms means that the Israeli military relies on spare parts and technical assistance from the US to maintain optimum performance in battle. This point was underscored on July 14, when the Pentagon's Defense Security Cooperation Agency supported an Israeli request for JP-8 jet fuel worth up to $210 million. Although this fuel was not be delivered immediately, it allowed Israel to replace fuel used in bombing runs in Lebanon and to enforce its occupation of Lebanon.

PARTIAL LIST OF US SUPPLIED WEAPONS IN ISRAEL'S CURRENT MILITARY ARSENAL

WEAPONS SYSTEM	NUMBER IN INVENTORY	MANUFACTURER
F-16 combat aircraft	236, 110 fighters and 126 ground-attack versions	Lockheed Martin (formerly by General Dynamics)
F-15 combat aircraft	89	Boeing (formerly by McDonnell Douglas)
A-4 attack aircraft	39	Northrop Grumman (formerly Grumman)
C-130 transport plane	5	Lockheed Martin
C-47 cargo helicopter	11	Boeing, Allied Signal
Gulfstream G-550 Transport	8	Gulfstream (now owned by General Dynamics)
B-707 transport	7	Boeing
Cessna 206 utility aircraft	22	Cessna
TA-4 training aircraft	26	Northrop Grumman
AH-1 Cobra attack	55	Bell/Textron helicopter

AH-64 attack helicopter	40	Boeing, Lockheed Martin/ Northrop Grumman (for AH-64D)
CH-53 Sea Stallion sea helicopter	41	United Technologies (Sikorsky unit)
Black Hawk support helicopter (S-70 and UH-60A)	48	United Technologies (Sikorsky unit)
Utility helicopters (Bell 206 and Bell 212)	77	Bell/Textron
Stinger man-portable air defense missile	390	Raytheon (formerly by General Dynamics, Hughes)
Redeye surface-to-air missiles	1,000	General Dynamics
Tactical air-to-ground missiles (AGM)	Hellfire, Walleye, Maverick, Standard (numbers unknown)	Lockheed Martin/Boeing (Hellfire), Raytheon (Standard Maverick); Martin Marietta– now Lockheed Martin (Walleye)
Tactical air-to-air missiles	AMRAAM, Sparrow, Sidewinder (numbers unknown)	Raytheon (AMRAAM, Sparrow, Sidewinder)
air-to-surface missiles, PAC-2	48	Lockheed Martin/ Vought, Raytheon
Bombs (Joint Direct Attack Munitions)	numbers unknown	Boeing
M-60 main battle tank	711	General Dynamics
M-113 armored personnel carrier	6,131	United Defense, joint of FMC and Harsco (purchased by BaE Systems mid-2005)
M-109 self-propelled 155mm artillery	350	United Defense (purchased by BaE Systems, mid-2005)
MLRS multiple rocket launcher systems	60	Lockheed Martin/Voight
Harpoon sea-to-sea missiles	444	Boeing (formerly by McDonnell Douglas)

Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Military Balance 2006

The bulk of Israel's current arsenal is composed of equipment supplied under U.S. military aid programs. For example, Israel has 430 US - supplied F-16 fighter and attack jets, 117 F-15 combat aircraft, 94 Sky Hawks and 110 phantoms. In addition Israel has over 700 M-60 tanks, over 6,000 armored personnel carriers, and scores of transport planes, attack helicopters, utility and training aircraft, bombs, and missiles of all kinds—air-to-air, air-to-ground, and surface-to-air-all provided by the US Congress.

WEAPONS SALES AND GRANTS

Israel is one of the United States' largest arms importers. Between 1996 and 2005 (the last year for which full data is available), Israel took delivery of $10.19 in US weaponry and military equipment, including more than $8,58 billion through the Foreign Military Sales program, and another $1.61 billion in Direct Commercial Sales.

In 2005 alone, documents from the departments of defense and state show that Israel received $2.76 billion in weaponry and military hardware from the United States, and another $629 million in defense services like maintenance and training.

This figure includes transfers of $188 million in miscellaneous missile spare parts, $7.1 million in tank components, $155 million in ship components, $1.3 million in explosives, and $720,000 in antipersonnel riot-control chemicals.

Recent military sales to Israel include propulsion systems for fast-patrol boats worth more than $15 from MTU Detroit Diesel; an $8 million contract to Lockheed martin for high-tech infrared Navigation and Targeting. capabilities for Israeli jets; and a $145 million deal with Oshkosh Truck Corporation to build more than 900 armor kits for Israel's Medium Tactical Vehicles.

RECENT US WEAPONS SALES DELIVERIES TO ISRAEL

YEAR	FMS	DCS	TOTAL
2001	$766,026,000	$4,019,000	$770,045,000
2002	$629,426,000	$1,427,000	$630,853,000
2003	$845,952,000	$16,455,000	$862,407,000
2004	$878,189,000	$418,883,000	$1,297,072,000
2005	$1,652,582,000	$1,110,223,000	$2,762,805,000
TOTALS 2001-2005	$4,772,175,000	$1,551,007,000	$6,323,182,000

Source: Defense Security Cooperation Agency, Israel—JP-8 Aviation Jet Fuel, press release, July 14, 2006

US MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL

As mentioned above, despite its relatively small size, Israel is the largest recipient of US foreign military assistance. Over the past decade, the United States has transferred more than $21 billion in military aid to this country of just over 6 million people, making it the largest recipient of US aid. In 2005, Israel received $2.25 billion in Foreign Military Financing with more request for 2006 and 2007.

RECENT MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL

YEAR	FMF	ESF	SUPPLEMENTALS	NADRATA	TOTAL
2001	$1,975,644,000	$838,000,000	–	–	$2,813,644,000
2002	$2,040,000,000	$720,000,000	–	$28,000,000	$2,788,000,000
2003	$2,086,350,000	$596,100,000	$1,000,000,000	–	$3,682,450,000
2004	$2,147,256,000	$477,168,000	–	–	$2,624,424,000
2005	$2,202,240,000	$357,120,000	$50,000,000	$210,000	$2,609,570,000
2006 (estimated)	$2,257,200,000	$273,600,000	–	$526,000	$2,531,326,000
2007 (requested)	$2,340,000,000	$120,000,000	–	$320,000	$2,460,320,000
TOTALS 200–2007	$15,048,690,000	$3,381,988,000	$1,050,000,000	$29,056,000	$19,509,734,000

Source: Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, Fiscal Years 2001–2007.

In its 2007 request for military aid submitted to Congress, the Department of Defense also mentioned helping its ally meet cash-flow requirements to procure F-16 fighter planes. Apache Longbow Attack helicopters, field vehicles, and advanced armaments. Foreign Military Financing represents a significant chunk of the Israeli defense budget, most of which is spent in the United States on US weapons. In addition to this special relationship, the Congressional Research Service report on US Foreign Assistance to Israel enumerates a number of other special concessions from the United States around this aid. No other country receives these special benefits.

Unlike other countries, Israel receives its Economic Support Funds in one lump sum early in the fiscal year rather than in four quarterly installments. This forces the US to pay more in interest for the money it burros to make lump sum payments—between $50 million and $60 million per year according to agency for International Development officials.

While other countries primarily deal with the Department of Defense when arranging to purchase military hardware from US companies, Israel deals directly with US companies for the vast majority of its military purchases in the United States. Other countries have a $100,000 minimum purchase amount per contract, but Israel is allowed to purchase military items for less than $100,000.

Finally, the Unites States underwrites Israel's research and development of weapons—and has contributed billions of dollars to Israeli systems like the Merkava tank and the Lavi ground-attack aircraft.

In November 2003, the first of a new batch of 102 F-16s for Israel rolled off the production line in Texas. The $45 million per copy F-16I Sufa is part of a $4.5 billion deal between manufacturer Lockheed Martin and Jerusalem. The Sufa F-16 fighter planes are co-manufactured with Israel.

The United States is providing substantial military, economic, and diplomatic support for Israel's aggression against Lebanon as well as its fourthy year old illegal military occupation of the Palestinian West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem.This enables Israel to suppress Palestinian self-determination and

dictate to the region and sets the US apart from the international consensus on resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by implementing United Nations resolutions and international law. When did US support start and why does it continue?

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

US support for Israel falls into three historical periods: 1948-1967, 1967-1991, and 1991 to the present. During the period between 1948 and 1967, annual US aid to Israel averaged $63 million, almost entirely economic development assistance and food aid. Immediately after the Israeli military victories of the 1967 Six Day War, the US increased the military component of its aid package to account for almost half the total. Subsequently, both the size of the pie and its military slice increased steadily.

Between 1971 and 1985, total aid averaged over $2 billion per year, two-thirds of which was military assistance. By 1985, all military and economic aid—by now some $3 billion per year—was in the form of grants. It was during this period that the already close relations were transformed into a strategic relationship, marked by unquestioning US support for Israel in international forums.

This relationship became more powerful still after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the successful 1991 US military action against Iraq. The Middle East peace process launched at that time sparked hopes for a just settlement. Unfortunately, although the US claimed it was pursuing a just solution to the conflict, in reality the entire peace process started at Oslo (1993-99) was fated to fail. Although declaring itself the honest broker, the US provided Israel with $31 billion in economic and military assistance loans and grants during the Oslo years, more than 45 times the total aid given Palestinians in the same period. It also continued to shield Israel from international censure by using its veto power in the U.N. Security Council.

The three billion dollars per year Israel receives accounts for a quarter of the total US foreign aid budget. For almost three decades, Israel has been the largest annual recipient of such aid. In fact, since World War II, the US has given more aid to Israel than to any other country. In 2004, the US gave $480 million to

Israel in Economic Support Funds to be used to promote economic and political stability, but which in fact freed up Israeli state revenues to be applied toward the occupation. The US also parcels out billions in loan guarantees, shields Israeli loans from default, and provides a tax reduction to US citizens who donate to Israeli charities.

The bulk of US taxpayers' aid to Israel is funneled directly to the Israeli army, which administers and enforces the occupation over Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. For example, of the $2.58 billion approved by Congress for Israel in 2005, $2.22 billion is in the form of military assistance grants and loans. Around 74% of this aid must be recycled for the purchase of Apache and Cobra helicopters.

IS IT OIL?

Some analysts argue that access to—and control of—the vast Middle East oil reserves are the primary motivation for the strategic US Israel relationship. Saudi Arabia and Iraq have, respectively, the first and second largest proved oil reserves, a lifeline not just for the US but also the European and Japanese economies. The US has both victories of the 1967 Six-Day War, the US increased the military component of its aid package to account for almost half the total. Subsequently, both the size of the pie and its military slice increased steadily.

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As the excellent American advocacy organization, the US Campaign to end the Israeli Occupation (www.endthe occupation.org) based in Washington DC

has pointed out recently that US military aid to Israel violates our own US domestic law, which prohibits military funding of major human rights violators and limits its use to internal security or legitimate self-defense.

Diplomatically, the US and Israel have collaborated to marginalize international law. Within the international community they stand virtually alone in asserting that UN Security Council Resolution 242 does not require full Israeli withdrawal to the 1949 Armistice line (Green Line). The US has also disregarded the recent ruling by the International Court of Justice that obligates it not to recognize or render aid or assistance to the maintenance of the illegal situation created by Israel's construction of the wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. In the UN Security Council, the US has repeatedly vetoed resolutions that affirm Palestinian human rights. Successive administrations have opposed the internationalization of the conflict, including attempts to send an international observer force that would provide protection for civilians on both sides of the conflict until Israel withdraws.

With regard to cases where Israel most clearly deserves censure, the US still offers some degree of support: contrast Israel's refusal to sign the Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty with the ongoing pressure on North Korea and Iran. Even when the Israeli military has killed US citizens, the United States has failed to adequately investigate.

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY
OF ISRAELI'S USE OF U.S WEAPONS AGAINST CIVILIANS

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: MOTHER MOURNING HER CHILDREN AND HUSBAND KILLED BY IDF AS THEY TRIED TO FLEE THE VILLAGE FOLLOWING ISRAELI EVACUATION ORDERS, MARWAHEEN, AUGUST 2006

1960

START OF ISRAELI TARGETING OF LEBANESE VILLAGES IN THE SOUTH

1968

AIRPORT BOMBED

1972

INVASION OF THE SOUTH

140 KILLED

1978

OPERATION LITANI

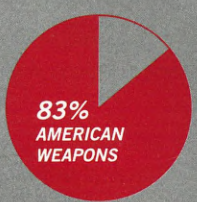
1200 - 2000 KILLED

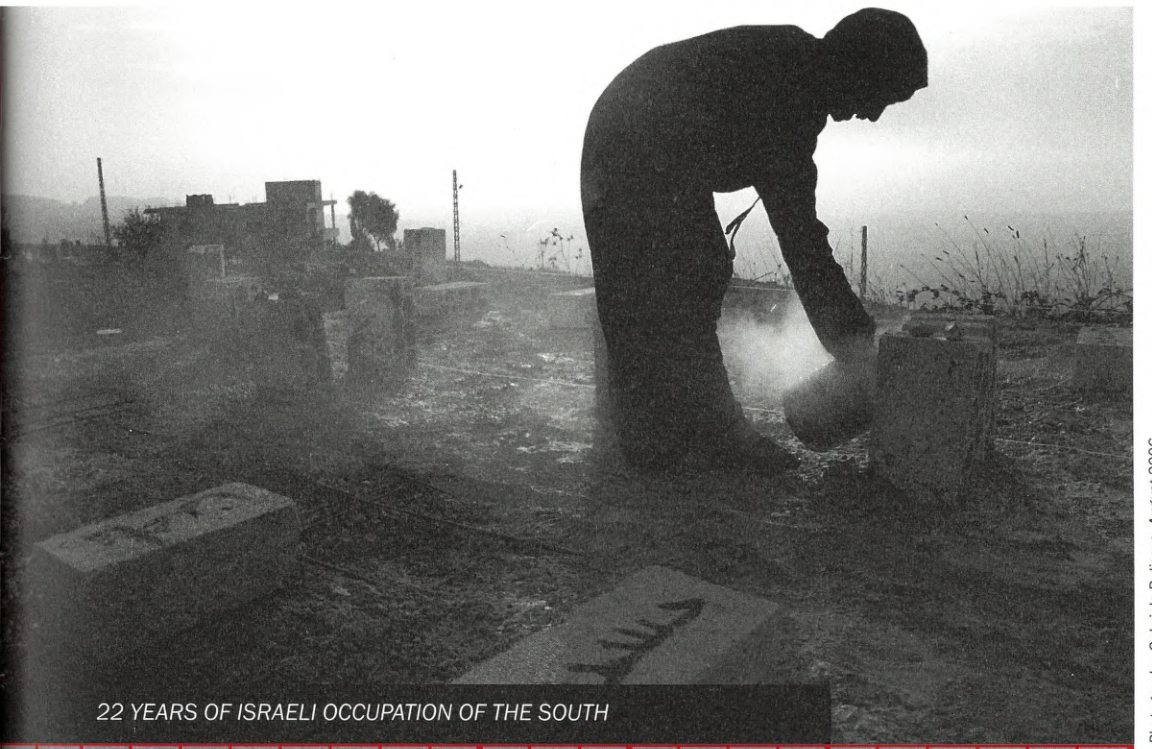
8000 WOUNDED

20 000 DISPLACED

DOZENS OF VILLAGES BOMBED

1982





22 YEARS OF ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE SOUTH

Photography: Gabriela Bulisova, August 2006

1993 **1996** **2006**

82 INVASION

20 000 KILLED
— WOUNDED

OPERATION
ACCOUNTABILITY
SEVEN-DAY WAR

120 KILLED
— WOUNDED

30 000
DISPLACED

1000 DESTROYED
HOUSES

OPERATION
GRAPES OF WRATH

150 KILLED
350 WOUNDED

400 000 DISPLACED

1000
DESTROYED
HOUSES

43 VILLAGES
BOMBED

JULY 06' WAR
33 DAYS ATTACK
ON LEBANON

1250 KILLED
5000 WOUNDED

950 000
DISPLACED

86 000
DESTROYED
HOUSES

MORE THAN
100 VILLAGES
BOMBED

Israel's use of US Weapons in Lebanon: An Historical Overview

> *"Reports of the Israeli army using cluster munitions in Lebanon are an obvious propaganda of Hezbollah and other organizations who do not know what is actually going on.*
>
> *Arkady Milman, Israeli Ambassador to Russia, 7/26/06*

The fighting on the southern border of Lebanon dates from the late 1960s. Since 1948 Lebanon has been populated by tens of thousands of Palestinian refuges who were driven from their ancestral homes in Palestine by Zionist forces during the (al Nakba) establishment of Israel. These refugees have been living in sprawling encampments around the Lebanese coast cities of Tyre (Sour), Sidon (Saida), Beirut and Tripoli and also there is are camp in the Bekaa Valley. Dispossessed and destitute, these refugees spawned a generation who were prepared to confront Israel's vast military in order to regain their land.

Entrenched in the Sunni Muslim areas of the Arquob region, a resistance movement developed and began decades of struggle with Israel to liberate and regain their land.

Starting in the late 1960s Israel began to target Lebanese villages. Israeli forces crossed the border into Lebanon in 1968 and in December of that year bombed Beirut's airport.

Increasingly Lebanese civilians were targeted. During September 1972, Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon, reportedly killing more than 140 people, a majority of whom were civilians. The motive of Israel, then as in 2006, was to punish the civilian population for permitting a resistance to Israel's occupation of Palestine to develop and for a resistance based in Lebanon to continue to live in their midst.

In 1976, Israel, with American funding as well as military equipment and weapons, organized a local militia under the command of a Christian Lebanese Army office, Major Sa'ad Haddad. The Haddad militia worked for Israel in clearing and razing Lebanese villages along the Israeli border. Israel encouraged the recruitment of Shi'a Muslims and fomented inter-religion strife among Sunni, Shi'a, and Christians.

MARCH 1978: OPERATION LITANI

In March of 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon in an aggression called Operation Litani and pushed as far north as the Litani River. The diaries of former Israeli PM Moshe Sharatt and others make plain than since the 1950s Zionist leaders urged the necessity for the future Jewish state to control all waters up to their sources, meaning the Southern one-third of Lebanon. Thus began a period of twenty two years during which more than 150 towns and villages in South Lebanon have been repeatedly raided, occupied and shelled by Israel. Thousands of civilian villagers were displaced as their villages were attacked. The village of At Tiri was hit by cluster munitions strikes in 1978. During the occupation the majority of the 5,000 residents left the village with only 100 remaining throughout the conflict. The village of At Tiri was hit by cluster munitions strikes in 1978. During the occupation the majority of the 5,000 residents left the village with only 100 remaining throughout the conflict.

In April 2002, a young boy was killed and two of his brothers were injured, one seriously, when a cluster bomb (BLU 63) they were playing with exploded.

The cluster bombs covered a wide area incorporating many residences and public facilities. The areas surrounding the school and the medical facility have been

cleared, and while the school is not yet being used it has been rehabilitated ready for the next year enrollment. The medical facility awaits rehabilitation and equipment.

A new mosque has been built in the former cluster strike area, funded by a woman from Qatar.

A total of eight CBU areas were cleared under the OES project, and two minefields.

One motive for the 1978 invasion and occupation was that the international community including the Arab states, the Soviet Union and the non-aligned countries were in the process of trying to reach agreement to settle the question of Palestine at the United Nations. Israel did not attend the UN session but instead bombed and killed more than fifthy villagers as a preventive strike against UN diplomacy. The US provided the diplomatic weapon and vetoed the Security Council Resolution as it was to do again in 1980. American President Jimmy Carter, concerned about Israel's use of US weapons against the civilian population of Lebanon, as prepared to notify Congress, as required by law, that US weapons were being used illegally in Lebanon, which would have automatically cut off all military aid to Israel. While Congress failed to act, the US government did play a key role in the drafting of two 1978 UN Security Council resolutions, 425 and 426. The former called on Israel to withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese territory. And the latter established UNIFIL, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, to oversee Israel withdrawal

Following Israel's 1982 invasion and occupation of Lebanon, during which more than 20,000 civilians were killed, Israeli General Mordechai Gur candidly summarized Israel's policy with respect to the civilian population of Lebanon. This policy has continued to the present

In South Lebanon we struck the civilian population consciously, because they deserved it...the army has never distinguished civilian targets but purposely attacked civilian targets even when Israeli settlements had not been struck.

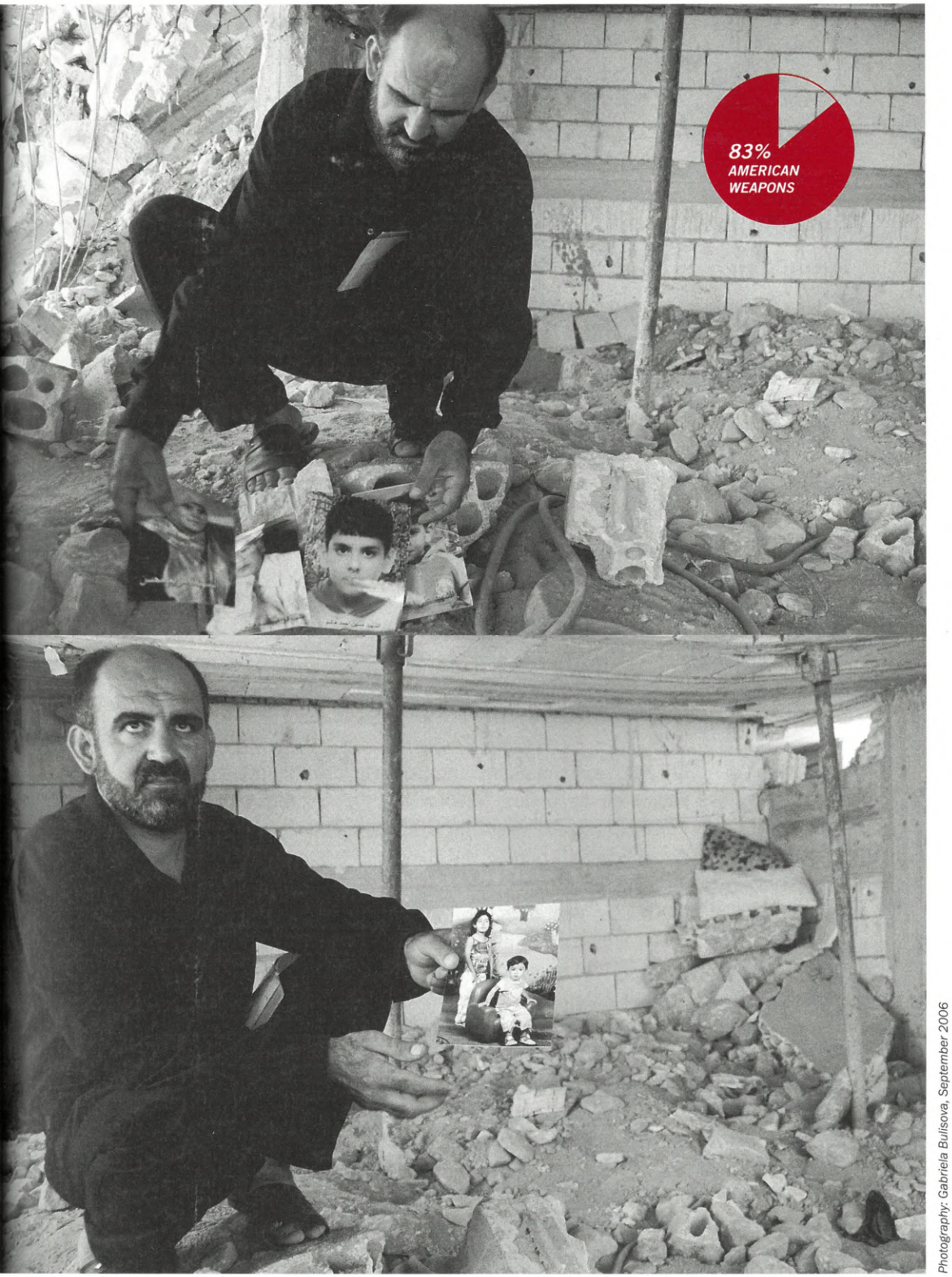
Unexploded MK-84 2,000-lb bomb from village near Tyre.
Discovered by returning residents on August 15, 2006.

1250 CIVILIANS KILLED 416 ARE CHILDREN

DURING JULY 06 33 DAYS WAR

Israeli attacks did not diminish, nor did their pattern appear to change, even when it became clear that the victims of the bombardment were predominantly civilians which was the case from the first day.

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: FATHER AT THE PLACE OF THE MASSACRE IN QANA WITH PICTURES OF HIS KILLED SONS, SEPTEMBER 2006



Photography: Gabriela Bulisova, September 2006

Case Study I: Israel's use of American Weapons during its invasion of Lebanon: June 1982

"Show me a single case in history in which an army managed to occupy territory over time and defeat a guerrilla organization that benefited from massive support and political backing from the local population. Even if unilateral withdrawal is interpreted as weakness, that does not mean it sought to be ruled out. There are plenty of nations that have already done it; the Americans folded in Vietnam and the Russian ran as fast as they could form Afghanistan. We can also get out. I don't think there is one sane Frenchman who is now sorry about withdrawing from Algeria. The truth is that there isn't a whole lot the IDF can do about Hezbollah.

Amos Harutz, a senior Israeli officer discussing his military>s experience with Hezbollah:

EDITOR'S NOTE:

While precise information has not been available, it has been reliably estimated by United Nations and US Pentagon personnel that, in its June invasion, Israel deployed nearly a third of its regular army, including nine armored divisions with 90,000 troops, 1,300 tanks, 12,000 troop and supply trucks, 1,300 armored personnel carriers, 350 ambulances, and 300 buses. Most of the equipment was supplied by the United States, including eighty five percent of all Israeli aircraft, more than sixty percent of its tanks, and more than 90 percent of its artillery, as well as virtually all of its missiles, including the Sidewinder, Maverick, Sparrow, and Shrike missiles. Indeed, according to a study commissioned by an organization belonging to the Israel Lobby, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), and reported in its newsletter February 25, 1983, Israel used in Lebanon more than 100 weapons systems that had not previously seen full-scale combat. All of the weapons listed below were confirmed either by explosive ordnance disposal units of the multinational force or by Pentagon sources as having been shipped to Israel and/or used by Israel during the 1982 invasion.

It should be borne in mind that Israel's violation of United States arms laws, noted below, including the 1952 bilateral treaty (Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement) and the 1961 US Arms Exports Control Act, as amended, are not limited to the nine types of cluster bombs Israel has used in Lebanon. The laws apply equally to all American weapons provided to Israel.

COMBAT AND TRANSPORT HELICOPTERS

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Bell AH-1	Sea Cobra Gunship
Hughes	500 MD Defender
Bell	HU-205 (Huey)
Bell	206A Jetranger
(Unavailable)	CH-47 Chinook Transport
(Unavailable)	CH-53
(Unavailable)	5-65 A/CH-53
(Unavailable)	UH-1H Iroquois

COMBAT AND TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
McDonnell-Douglas	F-15 Eagle Interceptor-Fighter
McDonnell-Douglas	F-4E and RF-4 Phantom II Reconnaissance with "Wild Weasel" electronic system)
McDonnell-Douglas	A-4 Skyhawk Attack
Cessna	U206-C Super Skywagon Transport
General Dynamics	F-16 Fighting Falcon Fighter (Israel used all 72 of its F-16s in Lebanon)
Lockheed	C-130H Hercules Transport
Beech	RU-21E Reconnaissance/Utility
(Unavailable)	E-2C

Howitzers, Missiles, and Other Projectiles

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Bowen-McLaughlin -York	M109-A2 155mm Self-Propelled Howitzer
Hughes	AGM-65 Maverick Air-to-Surface Missile
Ford (Ford-Raytheon)	AIM 9 Sidewinder Air-to-Air Missile
Vought	MGM-52C Antitank Ground Weapon
Ford	MIM-72C Chaparral Air-to-Air Missile
Ford	MIM-72C Chaparral Air-to-Air Missile Launchers
(Unavailable)	MIM-3 Nike Missile
General Dynamics	RIM-66/67 Standard ARM Surface-to Air Missile
Norris Industries	M-483 155 mm High-Explosive Projectile

Howitzers, Missiles, and Other Projectiles (Continued)

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
General Dynamics	MK-15/2 Vulcan Phalanx 20mm Naval Antiaircraft Gun
(Unavailable)	M-163 20 mm Vulcan Gun
(Unavailable)	M-107 175 mm Self-Propelled Gun
(Unavailable)	M-109 155mm Self-Propelled Howitzer
(Unavailable)	Self-Propelled Antiaircraft Gun
Rockwell	GBU-15 Cruciform (Glide Bomb Kit) Wing Bomb Unit
Hughes	BGM-71A TOW Antitank Ground Weapon
Hughes	BGM-71A TOW Antitank Ground Weapon Launchers
McDonnell-Douglas	RGM-84-A H Harpoon Antiship Missile
(Unavailable)	81 mm Mortar Ammunition
(Unavailable)	60 mm Mortar Ammunition
(Unavailable)	155 mm HE Artillery Projectiles
(Unavailable)	175mm Ammunition Rounds
(Unavailable)	175mm Special Extended-Range Artillery Projectile

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Rockwell	Walleye I Bomb
Raytheon	AIM-7F Sparrow Air-to-Air Missile
(Unavailable)	175mm and 155 mm Artillery Air-Intercept Ammunition, Thermal Night Sights
Hughes	AGM-45A Shrike (Antiradar Defense Suppression) Air-to-Surface Missile
Raytheon	MIM-23B I-Hawk Skyhawk Surface-to-Air Missile
Raytheon	I-Hawk Batteries
Raytheon-Kolisman	M-47 Dragon Antitank Ground Weapon
Raytheon-Kollsman	M-47 Dragon Antitank Ground Weapon Launchers
Rockwell	AM-62 Walleye II Bomb (GBU-15V4/B)
Colt	M16-A1 5.56 mm Rifle
General Dynamics	MIM-43A Redeye Surface-to-Air Missile
Hughes	M65-LAAT Antitank Ground Weapon

TANKS AND ARMORED VEHICLES

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Chrysler	M-728 Combat Vehicle with 165 mm Gun Support

Tanks and Armored Vehicles (Continued)

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Ex-U.S. Army	Royal Ordnance Factory Centurion Tank and parts
(Unavailable)	M-48 Patton Tanks
Bowen-McLaughlin - York	M-88 AL Tank Recovery Vehicle
(Unavailable)	Infantry Combat Vehicle
(Unavailable)	M-60 A-7 Main Battle Tank
Chrysler	M-60 A-3 Tank and Support Vehicles
Ford	M-577A1 Command Post Carrier

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
(Unavailable)	M-113A1 Armored Personnel Carrier
Ford	M-113A2 Armored Personnel Carrier
(Unavailable)	Other armored vehicles, primarily armored cargo carriers and armored weapons carriers
(Unavailable)	ICC- 130 Tanker/Transport
(Unavailable)	M-548 Cargo Carriers

MISCELLANEOUS MILITARY HARDWARE

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
(Unavailable)	Dabur-class Coastal Patrol Craft
Teledyne-Ryan	M-124 R-1 Firebee Reconnaissance Drone
Chrysler	M-60-A3 Fire Control System and parts
Texas Instruments	AAQ-10 Reconnaissance System
Grumman	Flagstaff II Hydrofoil
(Unavailable)	M-232 Target-Drone/Support
(Unavailable)	E2C Hawkeye Airborne Warning and Control
(Unavailable)	FMU 124 A/B Fuses

In addition to these weapons and military equipment, scores of other American military hardware and software items were supplied to Israel and many of them were used in Lebanon, e.g., Smith and Wesson handcuffs which due to the manner of their use caused much suffering among prisoners taken by Israel. Much of this material is not reflected in available military data sources, either because the specific purchases were relatively small, taken singly, or, as in the case of cluster bombs, because both the US government and Israel preferred that these sales be secret. Nonetheless, recent purchases of the M-42, M-46, and M-43 cluster bomb grenades have sometimes appeared on Foreign Military Sales (FMS) lists.

WEAPONS NOT USED IN LEBANON DURING ITS JUNE 1982 INVASION

Contrary to several reports the use of certain weapons such as nerve gas, napalm, and chemical warfare by Israel has not been substantiated. Convincing probative evidence to support these claims has not been forthcoming and consequently it must be concluded at this time that these weapons were not used. Reports that they were can be attributed to wartime confusion and misinformation particularly the intensive bombings and mass panic.

There are, however, plausible reasons for the reports. For example, although napalm was not used in Lebanon, many of the people who suffered burns from white phosphorus, which is similar in many respects, believed it was napalm. In point of fact, a white phosphorus burn can be every bit as terrible as one from napalm. Nor was there evidence that nerve gas was used, although C5 gas grenades were used at Beaufort Castle, after the Israelis failed to remove the defenders by aerial and artillery bombardment.

In an effort to account for reports of chemical weapons, military personnel along with their doctors were interviewed in Damascus hospitals. It was learned that white phosphorus gives off a toxic gas when in burns, and a number of defenders in South Lebanon and around the Bir Hassan area of Beirut were overcome by this chemical reaction.

In addition, a number of fighters from Tyre and Sidon were affected by what was thought to be a cotton candy like substance which drifted out of the sky following the firing of certain rockets and flares. Some of the soldiers thought this was a kind of chemical weapon, but it was in fact the lining of certain red magnesium flare casings that had a toxic effect on the skin, creating a sort of itching and numbing effect and causing the fighter to feel weak and faint and sometimes to experience partial paralysis. The matter of toy bombs is still being investigated, but the point should be made that cluster bombs are in fact toy bombs, because they look like balls or interesting butterfly-type objects, lighters, or batteries. Many Israeli soldiers as well as American marines have been attracted to these objects, have picked them up out of curiosity, and have been killed or wounded as a result. There are numerous claims about other types of toy bombs. These weapons such as booby-trapped dolls

and clocks used by the American military in Vietnam are some of those claimed to have been used in 1973 against Syria and in 1978 and at other times in the camps of Lebanon. Sufficient proof has not yet been available to allow a definite judgment whether Israel used these weapons in Lebanon in 1982.

OVERVIEW OF ISRAEL'S USE OF U.S. WEAPONS

Several times prior to the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Israel's use of American weapons and equipment had been questioned: (1) the raid on Sammu, Jordan, in November 1966; (2) the attacks against Egypt and Syria in June 1967; (3) the Beirut Airport raid in late December 1968; (4) the 1978 invasion of southern Lebanon; (5) the June 7, 1981, attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor; and (6) the July 17, 1981, bombing of Beirut in which more than 350 people were killed and more than 1,000 injured.

Twice—August 6, 1979, and April 5, 1981—the Carter Administration chose to make a public finding that Israel may have violated the July 7, 1952, Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MDAA) with the United States by using American-origin military equipment in operations conducted in southern Lebanon against Palestinian refugee camps and positions, but the United States did not suspend or terminate Israeli arms sales, credits, or deliveries in either case.

Shortly after receiving a large American shipment, during the October 1973 war, Israel used American-supplied cluster bombs as early as 1974, dropping them on the Bedawi refugee camp near Beirut, as well as on refugee camps, farms, and villages in southern Lebanon. Israel admitted having done so in 1976, after being challenged during discussions with the American government, and in April 1978, then-Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur told the Israeli newspaper *Davar:* I . . . recall that we used cluster bombs two years ago to hit terrorist bases from which they were shelling our settlements.

BROKEN PROMISES

On December 16, 1976, as part of a secret agreement, Israel promised the Ford Administration that it would not use American cluster bombs except against military, fortified targets and then only if Israel were

attacked by more than one country. Although this agreement is still classified, congressional sources briefed by the State Department confirm this restriction.

On March 14, 1978, Israel again invaded Lebanon and made widespread use of American-supplied cluster bombs throughout southern Lebanon. Israel at first denied to Pentagon officials that it had used American-made cluster bombs. Confronted with incontrovertible evidence, including Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) photographs showing cluster bombs all over the fields surrounding Nabatiyeh and the refugee camps of Rashidiyeh and Bourj al-Chemali, Israel admitted using the bombs but insisted they were dropped only on military targets. But, as American University Professor Kevin Danaher has pointed out. On-the-spot dispatches by US correspondents and US military intelligence reports have said that cluster bombs rained down on refugee camps, farms, and villages.

On April 5, 1978, the State Department wrote to Rep Lee H. Hamilton (D,IN), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. The letter said that the government of Israel had confirmed using cluster bombs in southern Lebanon and that the Israeli action constituted a use contrary to previous assurances given to us and that a violation of US law may have occurred. We will make every effort to assure that the government of Israel institutes measures that will prove effective in guarding against the misuse of this weapon in the future. The same day, the Carter administration made a finding that the Israelis may have violated their 1952 agreement with the United States through the use of American weapons against the people of Lebanon, and that what the US government had asked of Israel in guarding against misuse was for new and tighter restrictions on American-supplied cluster bombs. The Carter Administration asked that Israeli field commanders in the future not use cluster bombs without clear authorization from politically responsible superiors. This request followed Israeli claims that cluster bomb use in 1978 was accidental.

In March 1978, Israel's Defense Minister Ezer Weizmann acknowledged Israel's use of American-supplied cluster bombs in southern Lebanon, but said he had been unaware of any restrictions on their use, and that they would not be used in the future in any violation of an agreement with the United States. The US government did not suspend or terminate any Israeli arms sales, credits or deliveries—as it could have done, according to law—and Israel agreed to comply with the new requirements.

On April 10, 1978, following an Israeli air attack, Associated Press reporters in South Lebanon filed this dispatch:

Cluster bombs were dropped on areas ranging from the Mediterranean coast to the west, to the foothills of Mt. Hermon in the east, and around the refugee camps of Rashidiyeh, and Bourj al-Chemali, near the biblical port of Tyre, and in the outlying southwestern hamlets.

On March, the second day of the Israeli invasion, cluster bombs hit the house of Salim Shaf-Eddin, a sixty-year-old Lebanese farmer in Kfar Tibnit. The farmer showed visitors holes in the ceilings, the small cavities in his fields, and the shell casing. He pulled two tin cans from behind his garden wall and gingerly took out a handful of dirt-covered metal spheres, each the size of a lemon and weighing about a pound. They were the CBU-58 type. According to the Associated Press reporter at the scene each small bomb consisted of a hollow brass-colored sphere filled with explosive TNT and covered by a thick steel casing. The inside of the TNT-filled ball is deeply cut into a grid that becomes more than two-hundred diamond-shaped pieces of shrapnel when the bomb explodes.

On April 13, 1978, National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote to Rep. Paul McCloskey (R, CA) that the government of Israel had confirmed that it had used American-supplied cluster bombs and that such use was in violation of the agreement between Israel and the United States. Brzezinski noted that the State Department had communicated to the Israeli government US concern over this matter. Rep. McCloskey protested to Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz about Israel's violation of US laws: Dinitz acknowledged the violations, referring to additional secret assurances that were communicated by us to your Government on December 16, 1978, under which the use of the CBU was not permitted in an operation such as the one that took place in Lebanon. In his *Washington Post* article of April 30, 1978, H.D.S. Greenway commented, Defense Minister Weizmann now says he was unaware of Israel's promise not to use cluster bombs on offensive operations. This statement does not inspire confidence in Weizmann or the Defense Ministry.

A NEW AGREEMENT

Following Israel's repeated violations of US law and the MDAA, the United States initiated a series of classified diplomatic discussions aimed at putting an end to Israel's use of cluster bombs in all but the most extreme circumstances. The discussions culminated in yet another agreement between the United States and Israel, consisting of an exchange of notes dated April 10 and 11, 1978, in which Israel reaffirmed its acceptance of additional stipulations and conditions on the use of American cluster bombs. This secret agreement, of which much has been made since Israel's June 1982 invasion of Lebanon, is still classified, although its contents have become public knowledge. The agreement prohibits the use of American-supplied cluster bombs except against regular forces of a sovereign nation and under special wartime conditions, that is, a major war in which Israel is attacked by two or more of the nations Israel faced in 1967 and 1973. The agreement also prohibits the use of cluster bombs against any areas where civilians were exposed. Israel agreed not to use cluster bombs even against military personnel if the soldiers were housed in or near a civilian population center. Moreover, Israel specifically promised to evacuate civilians from any area where military personnel were present before using cluster bombs. Israel repeatedly and flagrantly violated this condition in Lebanon during its June 1982 invasion.

The focus of the 1978 agreement, which has not been grasped in media speculation, is the clear prohibition against using cluster bombs against civilians wherever they are. Recently, Rep. McCloskey correctly protested in Congress that Israel had again violated all three of the provisions of the 1978 secret agreement, as well as subsequent assurances, during the June 1982 invasion. It did so, according to McCloskey, by using cluster bombs in a situation when Israel was not being attacked by another nation, using the munitions against guerrilla forces, rather than against regular troops, and using them in areas where civilians were exposed.

One of the reasons for the particularly precise formulation of the 1978 secret agreement was that Israel had been consistently claiming, contrary to reports supplied to the State Department, that it used cluster bombs in South Lebanon only against military personnel, and not in the refugee camps and villages. Upon condemnation by the US government for its flagrant and indiscriminate use

of American-supplied cluster bombs against civilians in South Lebanon, and being advised of CIA report substantiating its violations, Israel did not immediately reply. When it did, its first response was that its use of cluster bombs was only against military targets. When the US government expressed incredulity over this explanation, Israel changed its response. Its classified response to the State Department was that Israel had always evacuated civilians from any area in which it dropped cluster bombs. But Israel has never specified how or where the evacuations took place.

During the spring and summer of 1979, Israel again attacked southern Lebanon. Cluster bombs were dropped on heavily populated villages and refugee camps including Burj Chemali, and Ein el-Helweh. From April through August 1979, Israeli attacks resulted in more than 600 casualties and forced some 200,000 Lebanese and Palestinians from their homes.

According to a report in the *Christian Science Monitor,* the Lebanese government gave the US Embassy a report listing the names, ages, and occupations of 969 Lebanese civilians killed and 224 wounded by Israeli air strikes and shelling during this period. The report added that during just one 24-hour period in April 1979, the Israeli bombardment caused nearly 100 Lebanese civilian casualties.

On August 6, 1979, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance issued the statement that Israel may have violated the 1978 agreement on the use of cluster bombs. Vance also acknowledged that Israeli use of U.S. arms and the transfer of arms to Israel's southern Lebanese ally, Major Saad Haddad, may have violated US law.

ISRAEL'S CURRENT EXPLANATION

In a July 18, 1982, memorandum, Israel's Department of Foreign Affairs claims that in its invasion of Lebanon:

'The Israeli forces took every possible precaution to protect the civilian population... including the temporary removal of civilians from zones of operation . . . [A]nd directing military operations solely at specific terrorist objectives, with the aim that the effects be limited only to such objectives . . . such operations were carried out only on the basis of the concrete and direct military advantage.

In addition, Israel argued that it had complied with the requirement that cluster bombs be used only against regular forces of a sovereign nation and under special wartime conditions, i.e., major wars against two or more nations such as Israel faced in 1967. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that Syria was one of the Arab states. But Syria did not attack Israel. And which state was the second? As Time magazine put it, Israel not only does not consider the PLO to be a state: it does not recognize the organization as a legal entity.'

A report on CBS News on July 17, 1982, quoted CIA officials as saying they had evidence that Israel did indeed use cluster bombs indiscriminately against civilian targets, a statement that confirmed our findings. Given such reports, as well as the weight of evidence, one State Department official called the latest Israeli explanation absurd. It's an insult to our intelligence as well as our intelligence community.

FURTHER ISRAELI AGGRESSION

Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor on June 7, 1981, prompted the Reagan Administration to conclude that Israel might have violated its July 23, 1952, Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MDAA) with the United States. The pertinent segment of the 1952 agreement between Israel and the United States reads as follows: 'The Government of Israel assures the United States Government that such equipment, materials, or services as may be acquired from the United States...are required for and will be used solely to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defense, or to permit it to participate in the defense of the area of which it is a part, or in United Nations collective security arrangement and measures, and that it will not undertake any act of aggression against any other state.'

In light of the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., reported to Congress on June 10, 1981, that the Israeli use of American-supplied military equipment in this raid may have constituted a substantial violation of the MDAA. The United States questioned Israel's description of the two air strikes as legitimate self-defense. That same day, pending review of the facts of the case, President Reagan exercised authority set forth in sections 2(b) and 42(3)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) to suspend for the time being the shipment of four F-16 aircraft that had been scheduled for export to Israel on June 12. Section 42(e)(1) of the AECA states that:

Each contract for sale entered into under sections 21, 22, and 29 of this Act shall provide that such contract may be cancelled in whole or in part, or its execution suspended by the United States at any time under unusual or compelling circumstances if the national interest so requires.

On July 1, and again on July 13, 1981, Israeli sources said the United States would deliver the four F-16s on July 17, 1981, the scheduled date for the delivery of six additional F-16s. The White House would not confirm the reports. On July 17, the White House announced that delivery of the six F-16 aircraft would be delayed indefinitely. The announcement coincided with and was prompted by the Israeli bombing of Beirut on that same day, which killed 387 and wounded more than 1,100.

Prime Minister Begin, Israel's foreign minister, and the Israeli ambassador to the United States, as well as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and other Jewish organizations that make up the Israel Lobby in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere, claimed that the United States had breached a contract to deliver the planes to Israel. This charge was unfounded; section 42(e)(1) of the AECA provides clear authority for the Administration to act precisely as it did. But on August 17, 1981, the Reagan Administration lifted its suspension on deliveries to Israel and all of the planes were transferred. Secretary of State Haig announced on August 17, 1981, that the deliveries would be resumed, and added that there was no "legal or juridical" decision necessary to determine if Israel violated its agreement with the United States.

THE JUNE 1982 INVASION OF LEBANON AND US ARMS LAWS

On July 16, 1982, following the CIA reports noted above, Acting Secretary of State Walter I. Stoessel, Jr., informed Congress about Israel's invasion of Lebanon on June 6, 1982, and made another finding that Israel may have committed a substantial violation of the AECA. This communication was classified, the State Department stated, due to factors related to the highly sensitive and delicate negotiations . . . for the peaceful departure of the PLO from Beirut.

Some members of Congress criticized the message as circuitous and for remaining silent on a key question of whether Israel had used cluster

bombs. According to House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Clement Zablocki (D,WI): It reached no judgment on whether Israel used cluster bombs, and there's no doubt in my mind that they did. When Zablocki complained that the letter ignored the cluster bomb issue, Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger assured him there would be a separate report on cluster bombs. To date, fall of 2006, nearly a quarter century later, no such report has been made.

On September 13, 1982, the State Department declassified Stoessel's July 16 communication. It was addressed to Sen. Charles Percy (RIL), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and reads as follows:
'I am providing the following information pursuant to Section 3 (c) (2) of the Arms Export Control Act.'

On June 6 Israeli forces entered Lebanon and began a series of military operations against Palestinian and Syrian forces. These operations have involved the use of a large quantity and variety of defense articles that had been furnished to Israel under the Foreign Military Sales program, including armored vehicles, aircraft, artillery, and munitions of various types.

Sales to Israel under the Foreign Military Sales program are governed by various restrictions in agreements with the United States, particularly the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement of July 23, 1952 (TIAS 2675), which provides in pertinent part: The Government of Israel assures the United States Government that such equipment, materials, or services as may be acquired from the United States . . . are required for and will be used solely to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defense, or to permit it to participate in the defense of the area of which it is a part, or in United Nations collective security arrangements and measures, and that it will not undertake any act of aggression against any other state.

In these circumstances, I must report on behalf of the President, pursuant to section 3 (cX2), that a substantial violation by Israel of these provisions may have occurred.

The next day, July 17, the United States imposed a temporary ban on

the shipment of 4,000 155mm artillery shells earmarked for Israel. On July 27 this ban was extended indefinitely.

Although on June 22, Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan had flatly denied Israel had used even one cluster bomb in Lebanon, on June 26 he sent a message to army officers serving in Lebanon warning them that eight Israeli soldiers had been injured picking them up. This report was carried on Israeli military radio.

On June 27, against a backdrop of overwhelming evidence, Major General Aharon Yariv, Special Advisor to Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, admitted that Israel was using cluster bombs, although he claimed they were used only against organized resistance, mainly the Syrians, army and infantry. They were not used against civilians and not on civilian areas. Israel's pronouncements that its use of American cluster bombs had been used only against military targets have virtually no evidentiary support. Moreover, Israeli officials themselves, in candid moments, admit that the Israeli army uses the bombs against civilians. Former Chief of Staff of the Israeli Army, General Mordechai Gur, in a May 1978 interview with Al Hamish mar, probably fairly accurately presented the Israeli government's attitude.

> **Al-Hamishmar:** Is it true [during the March 1978 Israeli invasion of Lebanon] that you bombarded agglomerations [of people] without distinction?
> **General Gur:** I am not one of those people who have a selective memory. Do you think that I pretend not to know what we have done all these years?. . . Since when has the population of South Lebanon become so sacred? They knew perfectly well what the terrorists were doing. After the massacre at Avivim, I had four villages in South Lebanon bombed without authorization.
> **Al-Hamishmar:** Without making distinctions between civilians and noncivilians?
> **General Gur:** What distinctions? What had the inhabitants of Irbid [a large town in Jordan] done to deserve bombing by us [in the war of attrition after the 1967 war]?
> **Al-Hamishmar:** But military communiques always spoke of returning fire and of counterstrikes against terrorist objectives.

General Gur: Please be serious. Did you not know that the entire valley of the Jordan had been emptied of its inhabitants as a result of the war of attrition?

Al-Hamishmar: Then you claim that the population ought to be punished?

General Gur: Of course, and I have never had any doubt about that It has now been thirty years... that we have been fighting against the civilian [Arab] population which inhabited the villages and towns, and every time that we do it, the same question gets asked: Should we or should we not strike at civilians?

On June 17, the United States had inquired, through its embassy in Tel Aviv, about Israel's use of American-supplied cluster bombs. The Begin government did not respond until July 17. At that time, the Israeli government claimed that its use of the cluster bombs was entirely defensive and was consistent with the restrictions contained in the 1976 and 1978 agreements. According to *The Washington Post* of July 18, certain State Department officials suggested that the Israeli reply apparently is not definitive; i.e., that it didn't contain any details.

CLUSTER BOMB USE IN WEST BEIRUT

Although the United States had a good idea of how Israel was using American-supplied weapons in violation of US arms laws, Israeli officials revealed little evidence or confirmation concerning the use of cluster bombs in West Beirut until October 2, 1982. In early July, Israel again admitted making very limited use of American cluster bombs. This time, the Israeli Army said, it was in the south of Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley, but not in West Beirut, which is the commercial and residential center of Lebanon. One Israeli spokesman in Baabda did tell a *Christian Science Monitor* reporter that it could be that some bombs were dropped on the city [Beirut]. He added that a few cluster bombs might have been dropped in Beirut by jet fighter-bombers returning to Israel after a bombing mission in the Bekaa.

However, on the CNN program, *Newsmakers*, aired October 2, 1982, from Washington, D.C., Major General Menachem Meron, Israel's military attache to the United States, became the first Israeli official to

acknowledge that cluster bombs were widely used around the Hamra (central West Beirut) district. General Meron also made a remarkable comment on why so many cluster bombs were found unexploded in West Beirut: 'There is a well-known fact that unfortunately too high a percentage of the bomblets that are falling down, they do not explode. Some of them did not explode. They can be collected from all over the place.' [Emphasis added.]

Major General Meron appeared puzzled and slightly frustrated that so many cluster bombs did not explode. I, too, was surprised to see so many undetonated bombs lying throughout Lebanon, thinking perhaps it was because they had been manufactured almost ten years ago—November and December 1973, according to the markings on some of the dispensers. However, on returning to Washington, D.C., I discussed various serial numbers and technical aspects of different cluster bomb munitions with Pentagon officials. Their response was that age makes little difference with most explosives, including cluster bombs. The Pentagon has stated that much World War II ordnance is still in perfect condition and in current NATO arsenals. Indeed, as was learned from the Multinational Forces (MNF) during a mid-January 1983 visit to Beirut, some of the more than 100 different types of ordnance they found dated from World War I.

Concerning General Meron's puzzlement, the apparent reason for such a high explosion failure rate has to do with the angle and timing of the release of the bomblets from the dispensers. Most cluster bombs must have a certain speed in order to arm the detonator, and training pilots often miss the optimum angle required to develop the speed. Some cluster bombs get caught in trees or bushes, hit soft sand, get blown off balance by other exploding cluster bombs or high winds, or have defective fuses.

SUSPENSION OF SHIPMENTS TO ISRAEL

After finding that Israel may have violated US arms laws, the Reagan administration on July 27, 1982, extended the suspension of a shipment of 4,000 155 mm howitzer artillery shells, each filled with 64 M-42 and 24 M-46 cluster bomb grenades. However, on November 1983 during a visit by Israeli

Prime Minister Shamir, President Reagan announced the willingness of the United States to resume cluster bomb shipments to Israel if a new "usage agreement" could be worked out. According to White House sources the new agreement will be tougher than earlier ones. As of March 1984 no agreement had been finalized. One State Department specialist on Israel's use of US weapons has noted that the United States found on two other occasions that Israel may have committed a substantial violation of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), but chose not to make the findings public. This brings to six the number of times Israel has formally been found to have violated the AECA. At his news conference on June 30, 1982, President Reagan acknowledged that two investigations were underway regarding possible violations of agreements between the United States and Israel regarding the use of American-supplied arms during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The investigations have been completed. The findings have been classified, but it is known that the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA have all concluded that Israel flagrantly violated US arms laws during its invasion of Lebanon by its use of cluster bombs, not to mention other U.S. arms. Yet, despite these findings, neither the president nor the Congress has acted to enforce the clear requirements of either the 1952 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement or the 1976 Arms Export Control Act.

The following testimony details and expands upon the evidence of Israel's unlawful use of American-supplied weapons in Lebanon.

The following testimony is excerpted from a report on Israel's use of American weapons presented to the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations committee of the US Congress, as well as to the McBride Commission.

FRANKLIN P. LAMB, Ph.D., USA

This collective record directly contradicts Israel's assertions that it has honored agreements with the United States governing the use of cluster bombs. . . the experience of these civilians must now put to rest any reasonable doubt about whether and how Israel has used in Lebanon cluster bombs supplied to it by the United States.

By far the clearest data and information about the physical effects of cluster bombs on the civilian population are the observations of the victims themselves as well as eyewitnesses in Lebanon and West Beirut. Because of earlier Israeli cluster bombings in 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978, and 1979, some citizens are able to discuss the differences between the bombings of these years and those of the June 1982 invasion. It may well be that it is the civilian population in the Palestinian refugee camps and the Lebanese population at large, rather than the fighters, who have had the most experience with cluster bombs. This is because the fighters are often underground and in a defensive military posture whereas the civilians are in the open and more exposed to the bomblets. Below is an excerpt from the compiled evidentiary record concerning the use of U.S. cluster bombs by Israel against the civilian population of Lebanon. The time span covered is 1974 through 1982, with the earliest, recorded 1982 use being June 11 at Am Dara in the Chouf area. The sources include victims, family members, medical personnel, and eyewitnesses. This collective record directly contradicts Israel's assertions that it has honored agreements with the United States governing the use of cluster bombs. While the record is by no means exhaustive, it accurately illustrates the all-pervasive effect of the cluster bombs dropped by Israel upon the civilian population of Lebanon. The experience of these civilians must now put to rest any reasonable doubt about whether and how Israel has used in Lebanon cluster bombs supplied to it by the United States.

- During March and April 1974, Bedawi refugee camp, located approximately ten kilometers east of Tripoli, Lebanon, was showered with cluster bombs during three separate Israeli attacks. Twenty-five people were killed and 63 wounded. (This was most likely Israel's first use of cluster bombs, since they acquired the bombs from the United States only six months earlier during the Yom Kippur War.) The names of those killed at Bedawi camp included Isam Zyghmot, 15 years old, and his five brothers and sisters. Also killed were Mohammad L. Hateri and his family, including eight children, ages 1 to 18.

- Another early use occurred in 1974, during four days of Israeli attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in South Lebanon. The attack took place in Hasbaya and Rachaya areas, located north of Marjayoun in southern

Lebanon. This area, near the Sheik Mountains and the Syrian border, was saturated with CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) bomblets.

- During late July 1975, Hendrick K. Jeilman of the Swedish Broadcasting Service witnessed the dropping of M-43 cluster bombs in the Rashidiyeh refugee camp. Others have confirmed this report. It is believed that this was the first instance of the Israeli use of the M-43 cluster bombs in Lebanon.

- During the fall of 1979, two boys, aged 10 and 12 were killed at Yahahmar, near Beaufort Castle by CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) bomblets.

- Dr. Bernt Heger, a Norwegian surgeon working in Rashidiyeh refugee camp in 1979, reported to the researcher that during August 1979, CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) cluster bombs were dropped several times on the camp. This report has been confirmed by other sources.

- Dr. Rush, a Norwegian surgeon reported that on October 9, 1982, a woman was killed and her six-year-old boy was injured by a cluster bomb. The child was playing at Sabra. The child's mother saw the youngster picking up a Butterfly bomb (the M-43 type). The mother ran to the child, and as she approached, the bomb exploded. Both were severely injured and taken to the Gaza Hospital. The mother died. The child was operated on by Dr. Rush who, because of the condition of the tissue and bone injury, had to amputate the child's leg.

- On October 15, 1982, the Lebanese daily newspaper an-Nahar reported that a cluster bomb blast killed a 14-year-old boy near the airport.

- Dr. Bent Schei, a Norwegian doctor, and Britt Nygard, a Norwegian occupational therapist, independently confirmed the Israeli use of M 43 Butterfly cluster bombs on Monday, June 7, 1982, at Bourj al-Chamali, in southern Lebanon, Bourj al-Chamali is a Palestinian refugee camp southeast of Tyre, with approximately 15,000 residents. The bombs were dropped at approximately 2:30 p.m. according to these witnesses.

- A Swedish doctor, Margaretta Carison, confirmed that on Saturday, June 5, and Sunday, June 6, 1982, the M-43 Butterfly bomb was dropped on the Rashidiyeh refugee camp.

Norwegian surgeon Dr. Bernt Heger worked in the clinic of the Palestinian refugee camp Rashidiyeh in South Lebanon between September 1 and December 18, 1979. Dr. Heger gave an account which I have found to be fairly typical of cases resulting from Israel's use of American bombs against civilians in South Lebanon. The surgeon reported: It was November 11, 1979. The clinic in the Palestinian refugee camp of Rashidiyeh on the outskirts of the town of Tyre in South Lebanon was full of patients. I was examining a totally deaf heart patient when the rest of us heard a piercing explosion. In no time the clinic was deserted. Only the deaf patient and I were left behind. There were no more explosions, but just afterwards people came running in to get us out. A small bomb had exploded in the schoolyard.

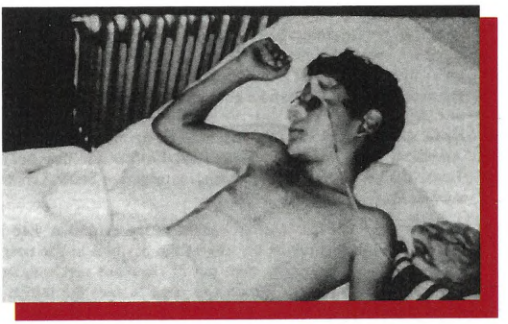
We ran there, and found ten children, nine boys and a girl, lying on the ground, bleeding and covered with burns and shrapnel wounds. A ten-year-old, Au, had found a cluster bomb and played with it until it exploded. It was a ghastly sight. Four of the children, three boys and a girl aged ten or eleven died. Ali was one of them. The next day the schoolyard was searched once more, and Ali's brother found another cluster bomb, of the same American make which had killed his brother the day before. Israel had been dropping the bombs on targets in South Lebanon such as Rashidiyeh Camp and Tyre.

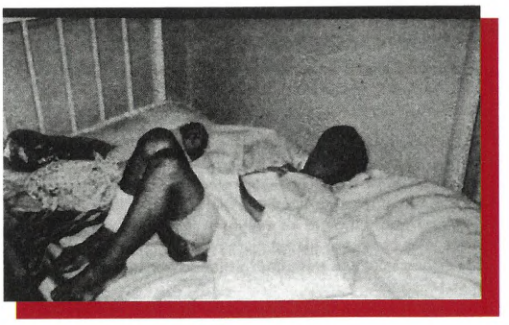
Two out of the ten children caught in the explosion died instantly. The third died on his way to the hospital in the nearby town of Sidon. Altogether, four out of the eight survivors were sent on to the hospital. The doctors tried to save the fourth by sending him to a special ward in Beirut. He died the following day in the hospital there. Two of the hospitalized ones endured major stomach operations. One lost a foot. All the survivors had many shrapnel wounds. Some shrapnel pieces we could dig out. Others we just had to leave because they were located too deep. We had no X-ray equipment in the Rashidiyeh Hospital.

Rashidiyeh is situated very close to the Israeli border. One can watch

Israeli television there. The same night, after Ali and the others were dead; we watched the news on Israeli TV. The announcer stated that three children (the fourth didn't die until the following day) were killed in an explosion in the schoolyard in Rashidiyeh. The bomb was placed there by Palestinian terrorists, Israeli television said, and was aimed at the school's headmaster. This lie sickened me.

According to another report from the Norwegian medical team at Rashidiyeh camp, the last major attacks on Rashidiyeh and Tyre of 1979 started on August 23. For one week between August 23 and September 1, the camp was constantly bombed with artillery and planes from Israel, and from Israeli gunboats along the coast. After these attacks, twelve volunteers picked up 1,500 cluster bombs from the beach outside Rashidiyeh. The schoolyard in the camp was searched several times, but still there were two bombs that escaped detection, one of which exploded killing four and wounding ten. In another incident, a farmer in the vicinity of Rashidiyeh was killed when his plough ran into one of these cluster bombs.





Following the Israeli bombings in August 1979, the children were drilled to refrain from picking up strange objects. But children are children, and some couldn't help themselves when they found the object. That turns out to be a bomb. Children cannot control themselves, and the farmers cannot stop ploughing the earth — both risk their lives on a playground and in a field which is converted into a mine area.

- During March and April 1979, Dr. Ebba Wergeland, a Swede, and Dr. David Henley, an American doctor living in Sweden, witnessed the use of CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) cluster bombs in Rashidiyeh refugee camp. Dr. Henley collected several of the grenades.

- According to Dr. Henley, who has had long experience in southern Lebanon, the Rashidiyeh refugee camp has been shelled many times over the last few years. A study by Dr. Henley showed that the Rashidiyeh camp was shelled 710 times by a cumulative total of more than 15,000 bombs or artillery shells since 1976. More than 250 people have been killed. Dr. Henley points out that this number preceded the June 1982 Israeli invasion. Dr. Henley has found that many of the shells contained cluster bombs, although Israel denies having used them during most of this period.

- On April 10, 1978, the Associated Press reported the results of a team which had visited South Lebanon following an Israeli air attack. According to the report: 'Cluster bombs were dropped on areas ranging from the Mediterranean coast in the west, to the foothills of Mt. Hermon in the east, and around the refugee camps of Rashidiyeh, and Bourg al IChemali, near the biblical port of Tyre, and in the outlying southwestern hamlets.'

On March 16, the second day of the Israeli invasion, cluster bombs hit the house of Selim Shaf-Eddin, a sixty-year-old Lebanese farmer in Kfar Tibnit. The farmer showed visitors holes in the ceilings, the small cavities in his fields, and the shell casings. He pulled two tin cans from behind his garden wall and gingerly took out a handful of dirt-covered metal spheres, each the size of a lemon and weighing about a pound. They were the CBU-58 type.

According to the Associated Press reporter at the scene: 'Each small bomb consisted of a hollow brass-colored sphere filled with explosive TNT and covered by a thin steel casing. The inside of the TNT-filled ball is deeply cut into a grid that becomes more than two hundred diamond-shaped pieces of shrapnel when the bomb explodes'

On August 20, 1982, following an Israeli attack on Bourj al-Barajneh, a Palestinian man and his wife returned to the refugee camp and entered their home. Their eight- and ten-year-old daughters remained outside to play. One of the girls, the ten-year-old, picked up a M-43 cluster bomb and her hand was partially blown off when it exploded. The x-rays of the child's hand showed three pieces of metal shrapnel. Two were approximately two mm in diameter. One was a half-millimeter and lodged in the soft tissue at the top of the wound.

- On July 2, 1982, at the Kuwaiti embassy located near Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp, both M-43 type and M-42 cluster bombs were dropped. Six people were wounded in the legs and face.

- The next day, on July 3, 1982, an eight-year-old Palestinian youth from Bourj al-Barajneh also was injured by an M-43 cluster bomb. The child was taken to the Makassed Hospital and subsequently to College Protestant for treatment; his photo is on the following page.

- In mid-July, 1982, an eighteen-year-old girl was injured in Sabra camp and treated in Lahout Medical Centre. The x-ray showed cluster fragments from the M-42 grenade. In this instance, the victim's body contained both little cluster bomb pieces and a larger piece which came from the casing of the cluster bomb grenade.

- A twenty eight-year-old man from Shatila refugee camp was killed during the June 23 and June 25, 1982, Israeli bombing of the area. The man left seven children and his wife. As the photo below shows, the main injuries were to his right foot, his leg and his groin. Extensive necrosis of the muscles extended from the left ankle all the way up the leg to the knee joint, necessitating amputation of the leg. The right foot also had to be amputated. According to Norwegian doctor Hans Husem, who treated the patient, the external skin looked relatively good. But as is typical with cluster bomb wounds, inside the body was great destruction and necrosis of the tissue, as well as shattering of the leg and ankle bones.

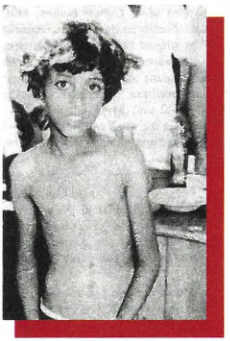
- In October 1979, following Israeli shelling of the Rashidiyeh refugee camp, three children were killed outside the camp while walking on the beach. At about the same time, a farmer was killed in the area while working in his field.

ISRAEL'S USE OF AMERICAN WEAPONS IN 1982 – US M-42 CLUSTER BOMBS

- In a July 22, 1982 report by retired British army officer Major Derek Cooper (one of those representing Oxfam in Lebanon) stated some bombs

leave small devices like cigarette lighters, which are in turn fused to go off on being handled or trodden on. A number of children have been injured by these, and I have been shown children who have lost a hand or leg or been seriously hurt by such devices in West Beirut. Major Cooper's report refers to the M-42 type. The general public in Lebanon has not had much available technical information on cluster bombs, and the M-42 type is sometimes described as a cigarette lighter device because of its appearance. It should be noted that I did *not* confirm this incident to be one of the so-called toy bombs claimed to have been used by Israel. These bombs are described in detail later in this report.

The M-42 was used by Israel is all of its attacks, invasions, and occupations of Lebanon. In July 2006 Israel dropped over 3,000,000 of this variety along the its essential twin, the US M77.



This photo shows a nine-year-old Palestinian boy, Hamid, who was injured by a BLU-63 B cluster bomb grenade near Bourj al-Chemali refugee camp during an Israeli attack in March 1978. He had more than thirty wounds and numerous cluster bomb projectiles in his body. This photo is not so clear but on close study 23 wounds, starting from above his right eye to below his naval, can be seen. Norwegian doctors worked for more than five hours to save him. He recovered and this photo was taken on September 15, 1978, by a Norwegian Labor delegation visiting South Lebanon. On June 9, 1982, he was arrested by the invading Israeli army as a terrorist and is believed to be in Ansar Prison Camp. His family name is with held at the request of his parents while the International Committee of the Red Cross seeks his release.

- Hans Goran Franck is a Swedish lawyer who visited West Beirut during early August 1982. In describing general conditions and the difficulty his delegation had in moving around West Beirut, Mr. Franck pointed out, 'The difficulties were also enormous because we had to move around, particularly in West Beirut, in order to contact people (during the bombing), and there was always great danger, especially from

cluster bombs. A cluster bomb is a big container which has small bombs that explode at a certain height or on touching the ground. Many of them had not exploded and could easily be stepped on.

▪ Perhaps the most heavily bombed areas outside South Lebanon were the Bir Hassan, Ouzai, Sabra, Chatila and Bourj al-Barajneh areas of Beirut. Israel dropped M-42 Lighter bombs, M-43 Butterfly bombs, and MK-2 antitank bombs in these areas beginning in late June and continuing until the August 1982 ceasefire. Three or four times a week during these months, waves of from five to ten aircraft made up to four bombing runs. Each plane on the bombing run dropped two or three Mod-7 canisters. In addition, the Israelis fired 155 mm and 175 mm shells containing M-42 and M-43 bomb grenades into these areas virtually every day from the small valley in the Dowaha area. They were fired from self-propelled gun mounts often pulled by old Sherman tanks adapted for this purpose.

▪ On July 20, 1982, a Greek doctor named Constantine Alexiou witnessed the shelling of the Akka Hospital in West Beirut. At approximately 11:00 a.m., Dr. Alexiou saw M-43 grenades fall around the courtyard of the hospital. On the same day, Dr. Alexiou operated on a young girl who had been injured by one of these cluster bomb grenades.

▪ Dr. Shafiq Islam was working in South Lebanon when he was arrested by the Israeli Army in June 1982. On October 30, he described his experience with cluster bombs, including seeing people with cluster bomb wounds in camps at Ansan. For example, a nineteen-year-old Palestinian had traumatic amputation of the right big toe, third toe, right middle finger, as well as multiple medium-sized wounds over the left half of his body from a cluster bomb. When I contacted a doctor from the Israeli Army, he would prescribe no dressing or antibiotic, he told me to just clearn the wounds with soap and that the patient does not need anything. He is a Palestinian. A terrorist. If he dies, we cannot help, he told me.

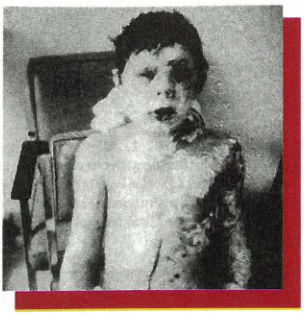
▪ On July 27, 1982, Lt. Marouf Handen, a Lebanese fire brigade officer at the main Boshura fire station, (one of only two fire stations in West

Beirut still functioning at that time) described how a fire crew fighting a blaze at Beirut International Airport was caught in Israeli artillery fire. Two Lebanese firemen were hit by Israeli-dropped cluster bombs, he stated.

▪ In a June 1982 incident in the southern Beirut suburb of Bourj al-Barajneh, three children were injured when one of them touched a triangular M-43 cluster bomb he found in front of a store. The child who touched the bomb had his right arm amputated, and also had surgery for shrapnel wounds in his kidneys and intestines. The two children accompanying him, the boy's brother and his cousin, also suffered shrapnel wounds.

▪ Another child from Bourj al-Baraqueh found so many of these triangular shaped cluster bombs (the M-43 type) during the invasion that he became an expert in detonating them. American journalist Janet Stevens met a fourteen-year-old boy who showed her how he could pick up the so-called Butterfly bomb without touching its wings or triggers and then throwing it over a wall to detonate it. He authoritatively explained that the triangular-type cluster bomb is more powerful when it explodes than the battery-shaped type. According to the boy, its shrapnel covers a wide area and causes great injury to the victim who touches or trips one of its two detonators. The boy's teacher made the comment that many of the children were becoming quite expert on American cluster bombs.

▪ Hadiya Ezzeddin Shamo, a twelve-year-old Lebanese girl at Berbir Hospital, was injured when another child picked up one of the small bombs and brought it into her house in Meshref, south of Beirut. It exploded there, and a piece of shrapnel pierced Hadiya's skull. It was a piece of steel, shaped like this, [drawing it in the air] and it exploded. My two brothers and two cousins were wounded, but not very badly. My wound was bad, so they took me to a hospital in Alay, and there they said they couldn't do the operation, so they brought me here, and now my family doesn't know where I am.



An eight-year old cluster bomb victim from Sabra, West Beirut. A seven-year old child who lost her legs to a cluster bomb in Mid-July, 1982. Photo taken at La Hout Hospital, West Beirut.

Dr. Fathi Arafat treats a cluster bomb patient at La HoutHospital in Bierut on August 13, 1982.

▪ At the Gaza Hospital, a fourteen-year-old boy who had his hand blown *off*, explained, 'it was one of those things they call cluster bombs. I didn't know what it was, and that's why this happened. I was walking along with my cousin — we were going to buy bread in Ghobeiry — and I saw this little piece of metal. I picked it up, and it exploded as soon as I touched it. One of my cousins was wounded, but not very badly. Me, I got many wounds all over me, and my hand was cut off — see?'

▪ On November 2, 1982, A *Christian Science Monitor* reporter wrote about two cluster bomb cases. This writer, as a result of visiting Bourj al-Barajneh camp and several hospitals, found two incidents in which an explosive device, apparently a cluster bomblet, was actually held before exploding. In one case, thirteen-year-old Muhammad Snono of Bourj al-Barajneh found a black triangular object that he says he thought was a magnet.

He says he found it next to the road near the camp and that he picked it up. He says he carried it with him for more than an hour. Then it suddenly exploded. Muhammad lost his left hand in the blast. His fourteen-year-old cousin, Amin Snono, who was with him, was slashed across the chest and stomach by shrapnel. His lifts his shirt and displays two long, thick scars. It happened two-and-a-half months ago.

Recently five-year-old Fatima, also of Bourj al-Barajneh, found what she describes as a battery with a rope attached to it in the garden outside her house. She says she thought it was a toy. It was shiny, like silver, she says. She picked it up and carried it inside, where her mother was nursing her fourteen-month old brother on the bed. She threw her new toy down on the floor. The explosion killed her brother. Her mother lost her right leg. Fatima lost her left leg. In addition to Fatima and Muhammad there are scores of others in the camps and neighborhoods here who have lost limbs or were injured in bomb blasts.

▪ On June 13, 1982, a *Philadelphia Inquirer* staff writer, Richard Ben Kramer, gave the following account of the effect of cluster bombs in West Beirut. 'On the first day of the ceasefire, the slum called Shatila came alive. People crawled out of cellars to restock.'

Amin and Mohammed Sinunu, cousins, twelve and fourteen, went to buy bread for their parents. They went up the main street in boyish high spirits; they had not been out for days.

Mohammed spied a shiny bit of metal. Amin saw it, too. He was close when Mohammed picked it up.

Amin, twelve, arrived at Gaza Hospital with a big hole in his stomach. A piece of the bomb had smashed through the bottom ribs on his left side. A lung collapsed. His stomach, colon and small intestines were hanging out of the wound. Mohammed, fourteen, also was ripped open from the blast of the bomb, but the pieces that tore into him were smaller. He lost his spleen. His colon and stomach had to be sewn up. His left hand was amputated. His face all around his left check was burned, and he can't see much through his left eye.

Neither of these boys, their friends, their parents, nor their doctors knew much about weapons that kill and maim indiscriminately. But with the Israeli army using "modern means" to depopulate Palestinian neighborhoods in West Beirut, everybody is learning fast. And the way the boys described it, what blew up in their hands was a cluster bomb. Kramer continued:

The Israelis have used cluster bombs, made in America, to get the maximum kill per hit. Those being found here are one of two types the United States has sold to Israel.
[Ed. note: Actually, the United States sold at least four types of cluster bombs to Israel.]
Each casing has 650 bomblets, little baseball-size things with serrated edges that spin away in all directions. They explode when someone picks them up, or steps on them, even after a ceasefire.

Some Israeli shells have scattered antipersonnel mines, little aluminum casings with a bomb inside and pop-up wings made of a light metal alloy. They sit in the dust, in the grass, or on the street. The wings keep them upright, with the detonators up, and they can explode when touched by those who happen by after the shelling has stopped. These little mines are scattered all over during Israeli shellings. People pick them up by the dozens; some PLO men have collected hundreds. The mines that have blown up are pieces of jagged aluminum. This shrapnel is fine and sharp and cuts into flesh like a scalpel.

What the witnesses were describing without knowing the technical details was the birdie as the US marines in Lebanon called it. The US M-43.

- Dr. Troy Rueli, a surgeon at La Hout Hospital in West Beirut, stated on August 10, 1982:

'The people of Lebanon are being subjected to a series of internationally banned weapons, including cluster bombs. The hospitals in Lebanon are full of these victims. Most are civilians. Many children have been killed because they picked up something that looked like a lighter or toy in the street, following an Israeli attack. These booby-trapped objects have been dropped in camps

and residential areas and they most often explode in the hands of a child. A cluster bomb wound is characterized by many small fragments and punctures. Many of the areas wounded must be amputated because of the devastation to the tissue and circulatory system. Other bomb wounds are usually identified by larger pieces of shrapnel that are close together. Limbs of cluster bomb victims often must be amputated because the high velocity, and high energy, of the fragments destroy the skin and bone tissue, stopping circulation of blood and leaving the limbs with no possibility of rejuvenation. Forty to fifty percent of the cases brought into Lahout hospital with cluster bomb fragments result in amputation.

▪ A group of twenty-six Greek doctors and medical personnel spent approximately one month in the midst of the Israeli bombing in West Beirut treating the injuries of the population there. Following their return to Athens, the doctors issued a report in which they described the medical conditions existing in West Beirut, and specifically made reference to the characteristics of wounds caused by cluster bombs. An excerpt from their report: 'We surprisingly found out that the Israelis did not confine their bombing only to military positions, but attacked with particular rage, intensity, and purpose, civilian populated areas. Refugee camps with women and children created by Israeli destructions in South Lebanon and the populated areas of West Beirut, constituted usual targets for the Israeli Air Force and artillery. Our medical work enabled us to diagnose with sorrow that the number of dead is much larger than the wounded. The number of civilians wounded, and small children in particular, aged one to twelve years, is much greater than that of fighters. The conditions for the care of wounded were terribly difficult since hospitals were bombed purposely and repeatedly; Akka, Gaza and Barbir hospitals have suffered considerable damage in patient wards despite hospital flags and large painted signs on the roof depicting the International Red Cross.'

With respect to cluster bombs, we repeatedly operated on patients perforated by small, slashing bomb particles and amputated a very high percentage of children with traumas from this type of bomb.

The latter results even far from the site of the primary lesion (e.g., radiocarpal or tarsotibial area) — in massive loss of soft parts and other tissues, even bones, which necessitated a high percentage of amputation of the entire limbs. Even in cases of possible avoidance of amputations, the lack of tissues was so great, that any attempt for surgical restoration in the future was very problematical. We may anticipate the future outcome, noting the inevitable creation of a large number of invalids.

- Dr. and Mrs. Charles Nucho, reporting from the Hamlin Hospital in Hammana, Lebanon, on June 11, 1982, to the World Council of Churches, described the damage to their hospital from the Israeli attack. The damage included 255 broken panes of glass windows and doors, some with frames and locks blown out. Dr. and Mrs. Nucho ended their report, we are now receiving quite a number of casualties resulting from people picking up fragments of bombs which explode when touched—many are children.

- Two articles from Israeli newspapers also provide some impressions of eyewitnesses to the use of cluster bombs. One featured an Israeli soldier assigned to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, The Israeli daily newspaper, *AL Hamishmar*, in a piece by Un Paz on July 19, 1982, reported on another soldier's impressions of cluster bombs during the invasion.

In a moment of truth, after a heavy shelling of targets in Beirut, the young officer in charge of the shelling confessed, only now do I begin to understand what this diabolic bomb does. I see the horror and the killing, it is like a horror film that overcomes your imagination and doesn't leave you in peace.

Only eight kilometers from Beirut—the army has not yet reached the Lebanese capital. Heavy shelling—on targets of the southern entrances of town. The young officer is tired from the endless nine fighting days. Only a few minutes ago, he had a short rest with the declaration of the first ceasefire. Mainly this is the time to do some thinking and consider the order, consider the words that make up the sharp sentence, three cluster bombs on the target. [Ed. note: Three canisters with up to 650 bomblets in each.]

Above Mrs. Zainab Mahuman, a foutry five year-old Palestinian refugee who lives at Bourj al-Brajeneh camp lost her three-year-old son as well as her right leg on October 11, 1982 as a result of a CBU-58 (BLU 63) type cluster bomb. In addition, her left leg and ankle sustained compound fractures. She is shown at Gaza Hospital in Sabra with a nurse attendant holding a BLU 63 cluster bomblet from his collection. Mrs. Mahuman explained that her son came into their house and was rolling an object on the floor near the bed where she was sitting. The object rolled under the bed and her son crawled after it. The bomblet exploded a few seconds later killing her son and blowing her leg off. Paz continued with this account:

During the first days of fighting, the foreign reporters were the ones who reported that Israel is using the cluster bomb. The Israeli Army did not reply, not one word about firing the cluster bomb.

Only after heavy American pressure did Jerusalem confirm what many of us knew already: the Israeli Army did, indeed, use the cluster bomb. The experts admit that this bomb is made by Satan. A bomb that contains many hand grenades. It opens in the air and the grenades spread over a large area, and each one explodes separately, touching ground or a bit above ground. The bomb is aimed at people and soft targets such as vehicles, communication posts, and missile stands.

The scope of killing of the bomb is very large. No less is its wounding scope. Watching it in operation is like watching a rain of terror. Small fatal grenades, that create a horrific death mushroom.

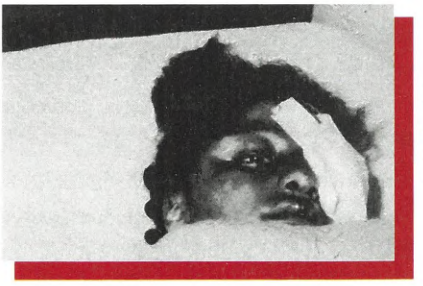
> ▪ Another Israeli newspaper, the *Hoalam Haze*, provided an impression of cluster bombs. An article printed on July 7, 1982, stated, 'There aren't many people alive who can describe the effects of the cluster bomb. It is a most deadly bomb. But we know how it operates. The bomb can be thrown from a plane or shot by artillery. It is built of a container that explodes at a certain height over land. From it falls splinter grenades filled with explosives and metal slivers or fragments. These grenades jump up into the air once they reach land, and then explode in the air one or two meters above land. This method guarantees that any living soul within quite a considerable radius shall be killed or wounded severely. Some of the grenades remain on the ground as mines. The bomb was developed by the American army for use in Vietnam. The Americans are very sensitive to the use of it, mainly because that in its latter form as a mine, it had killed many Americans.

When Menachem Begin visited Washington on June 16, he was asked by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee whether Israel had used these bombs. He replied that he didn't know and he doubted it, but that he would give them an answer. The answer did not follow and the Americans began to put on pressure.

The Israeli silence was strange because General Yarib, Sharon's propaganda expert, already admitted on February 7, 1982, that the Israeli Army had used the cluster bombs. He said this at a press conference in Tel Aviv: we restricted the use of the cluster bombs and used them only against Syrian commandos and infantry in armored concentrations. We were careful not to use them in areas where our forces had to pass. Citing General Yarib's comment, Professor Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human Rights, wrote, 'This is a complete lie, just as his use of terrorist targets is a corruption of language and of reality worthy of Hitler himself. Cluster bombs are used all the time on every sort of target in Lebanon, especially on the civilian ones.'

▪ Dr. Per Machumshagun is a Norwegian surgeon who arrived at Gaza Hospital inside Sabra at about 3:00 p.m. on September 15. Dr. Machumshagun was there throughout the Sabra-Shatila massacre. On October 13, 1982, he gave testimony in Oslo before the McBride Commission. He testified that from the afternoon of September 15 until noon on September 17, a constant flow of dead and wounded civilians, eighty percent of whom he estimated were women and children, were carried into Gaza Hospital. Dr. Machumshagun stated, some of the injuries came from small explosive toys. Following his testimony I spoke with him and showed him some samples of the four different type of cluster bombs used in Lebanon. He positively identified those he saw, and which he believed caused the wounds during the massacre, as the M-43 type. It is likely that 155 mm or 175 mm artillery rounds are carried by these cluster bombs.

This report of cluster bombs used during the massacres confirms a report by American journalist Janet Stevens that she saw cluster bombs of the M-43 type being used as booby-traps under some of the bodies in Sabra. Japanese photographer and movie producer Ryichi Kirokawa also reported that cluster bombs were used to booby-trap bodies during the massacres. The researcher has not been able to establish as of the date of this writing to his satisfaction that in fact the M-43s were used as booby-traps.



A young girl who lost her eye from a US cluster bomb suffered near Armenian Hospital at Aazzouniye.

▪ Saturday morning September 18, 1982 toward the end of the Sabra Shatila massacre, a group of men from the camps were being forced-marched to the nearby Sports Stadium to be delivered to the Israeli army. On the route to the stadium, according to several witnesses in the group, one of the detainees stepped on an unexploded cluster

bomb, detonating it. One man and his son were killed and several others were wounded. The type of cluster bombs was not definitely established but is believed to have been an M-43 butterfly or birdie type.

▪ In conversation with an Israeli Commission investigating the massacre, member General Efrat on the subject of unexploded cluster bombs found in West Beirut as well as greater Lebanon, the general acknowledged their widespread use by Israel in Lebanon and told me that approximately fifteen to twenty percent of the cluster bombs do not explode. This information was based on a study by the Israeli Defense Force. This high rate of duds is double what the Pentagon considers acceptable. We also discussed my findings on the subject of why so many cluster bomb grenades do not explode on initial impact, thus becoming a great hazard to the civilian population. The general confirmed the findings about characteristics of cluster bombs contained in this report.

A fourteen-year-old boy who lost his arm and leg to a cluster bomb in mid-June, 1982.

▪ *London Times* correspondent Robert Fisk wrote in the July 2, 1982, edition that Israel's use of cluster bombs during her invasion of Lebanon, appears to have been both widespread and frequent. According to Fisk, many Western correspondents found unexploded cluster bomblets around the Palestinian refugee camps of Beirut, in the mountains near Syrian positions at Mdeirej, and in central West Beirut including Corniche Mazraa. Many of those injured by the bombs appear to have been civilians, Fisk noted.

▪ The *New York Times* of July 8, 1982, reported that Western journalists

observed unexploded cluster bombs and cluster bomb fragments on the Soviet Embassy grounds in densely populated West Beirut.

- The *London Guardian* of the same date carried a report by its Beirut correspondent David Hirst, in which Hirst described a demonstration of American cluster bombs which had been dropped by Israel. During the briefing conducted by PLO explosive expert Abu Husam, one of the two-inch-high cones with a kind of ribbon on top [Editor's note: M46 type] was inadvertently blown off the table and it exploded. The first charge blew a 24-inch hole in the ground [Editor's note: the M-46 is designed to penetrate six inches of hardened steel]. An antipersonnel fragmentation charge was then detonated. According to Abu Husam, these cluster bomb types were used by the Israelis as much against civilians as military targets, in Bourj al Brajneh, Sabra and Shatila camp, and in the Shi'a area of Ouzai near Beirut International Airport. *Time* magazine Middle East bureau chief William Stewart reported on August 1982, following Prime Minister Begin's pledge not to use cluster bombs, seeing from the 14th floor of the Canton Hotel, Israeli planes drop cluster bombs on Ramlet al Baida, a fashionable section of Beirut, As each falls on the boulevard, there is a shower of small explosions, Stewart reported.

- Columnist Jack Anderson, who visited Lebanon during the Israeli invasion, wrote on August 16, 1982: 'Dale Van Atta, who accompanied me to Beirut, checked with American sources on Israel's use of cluster bombs. Under the agreement which the U.S. provided the bombs, Israel was to use them only for defensive purposes; against fortified military targets and only if Israel was attacked by two or more Arab states.' Yet the Israelis have reportedly been using the cluster bombs since their 1978 anti-PLO action in Lebanon. Civilians, unfortified cities and even an Armenian hospital have been hit on a number of occasions. One source said the bombs have been used so often in the past four years in Lebanon that, in some areas, fragments are as common as pine cones in a pine forest.

Even soldiers find the bomblets attractive souvenirs. Lt. Gen. Rafael Eitan, Israel's Chief of Staff, warned his troops not to pick up the bomblets, because your life may depend on it. Eitan's directive

revealed that eight Israeli soldiers had been injured in souvenir hunts. In the past, the Israeli government denied using cluster bombs. But in the 1978 incursion, an Israeli journalist saw some dropped on civilians and he was badly injured by one. He wrote a story about the bombing from his hospital bed. Instead of printing it, his paper ran a government press release that played down the use of the weapons.

- The McBride Commission, which inquired into Israeli violations of International Law in Lebanon, in finding that Israel's use of cluster bombs against civilians caused indiscriminate death and injury, stated on page ninety six of its report: '...was contrary to the principle of discrimination and was thus a violation of the laws of war.'

The Commission had similar evidence to this effect from an IDF paratroop captain, Shmuel Rubinstein. Naturally, not only soldiers were affected. One incident is described in the following article "Cluster in urban areas," *Hotam:* 'The Sergeant Major was not the only one who was injured. Two children and a woman, their mother, from the nearby village were also injured. Cluster bomb grenades that did not explode when thrown during the war, have turned the area into a wild minefield, an area of danger of death to anyone passing there.'

At 1:45 p.m. on the 2 September; 1982, the Commission heard testimony in the Akka hospital in Beirut from Mme. Hedla Ayyubi, acting head of the PRCS, accompanied by Dr. Nabila Nashashibi. While the evidence was being taken, sirens were heard, and when the ambulance arrived at the hospital, the sound of screaming and wailing. The Commission members went to the windows to look out. It transpired that a badly wounded child was being brought in and who had been injured by a bomb He was with his relatives. The Commission asked if one of them would be prepared to testify to us as to what had happened. At 2:15 p.m. a man was brought in to see us. He had blood all over his shirt. He was very quiet, but tense; he seemed to be in shock.

He gave his name as Ali Admad Ismail, a Lebanese accountant living in Bourj al-Brajneh age 23. He said the children had been playing in Bourj al Brajneh,

on the way to the airport, when one of them touched a cluster bomb, not knowing what it was. It exploded. It was his nephew, twelve years old, named Yacub Ismail. The child was hit in the heart and had died. The other children, aged ten and nine, were injured. The incident happened at 1:45 p.m. He said the cluster bomb looked like a small ball. He thought it looked like a toy. He then left us. Continuing with her evidence to the Commission, Mme. Ayyubi said these incidents occurred almost daily. There were numerous findings of cluster bombs in the camps. She had seen many cases of people from the camps suffering from cluster bomb injuries.

- In Sidon, the Israeli army launched a massive barrage against the whole town, using dozens of 155mm cluster shells as well as MOD 7 canisters, containing Rockeye cluster bombs.

On July 5, a particularly heavy concentration of 155mm cluster bomb shells was concentrated by the Israelis on Hachem Al Khalil Street. As John Bullock, correspondent for the London Daily Telegram, noted: At this time, Israel was consistently denying reports from West Beirut that it was using cluster bombs and cluster shells, weapons which had been supplied to it by America on the strict understanding that they were to be used only "for defensive purposes." 'This time the people of Talat Al Khayat were determined to disprove the Israelis. At the warehouse, a man who gave his name only as Mahmoud and said he had been trained in the Lebanese Army, showed an unexploded 155 mm shell which he had carefully dismantled. Some of the 150 bomblets it contained were laid out in neat rows on the hood bonnet of a car; others were left still packed inside the shell casing to show how it all worked.

The use of the cluster shells in the area—at least 20 fell—showed a total disregard for possible civilian casualties. It was a pattern which was to be repeated many times over.

In addition to the above noted incidents of Israeli use of US cluster bombs, Lebanese newspapers including *Al Safir* and *An Nahar* have reported more than 150 cases of cluster bomb casualties beeen 1978 and 1982.

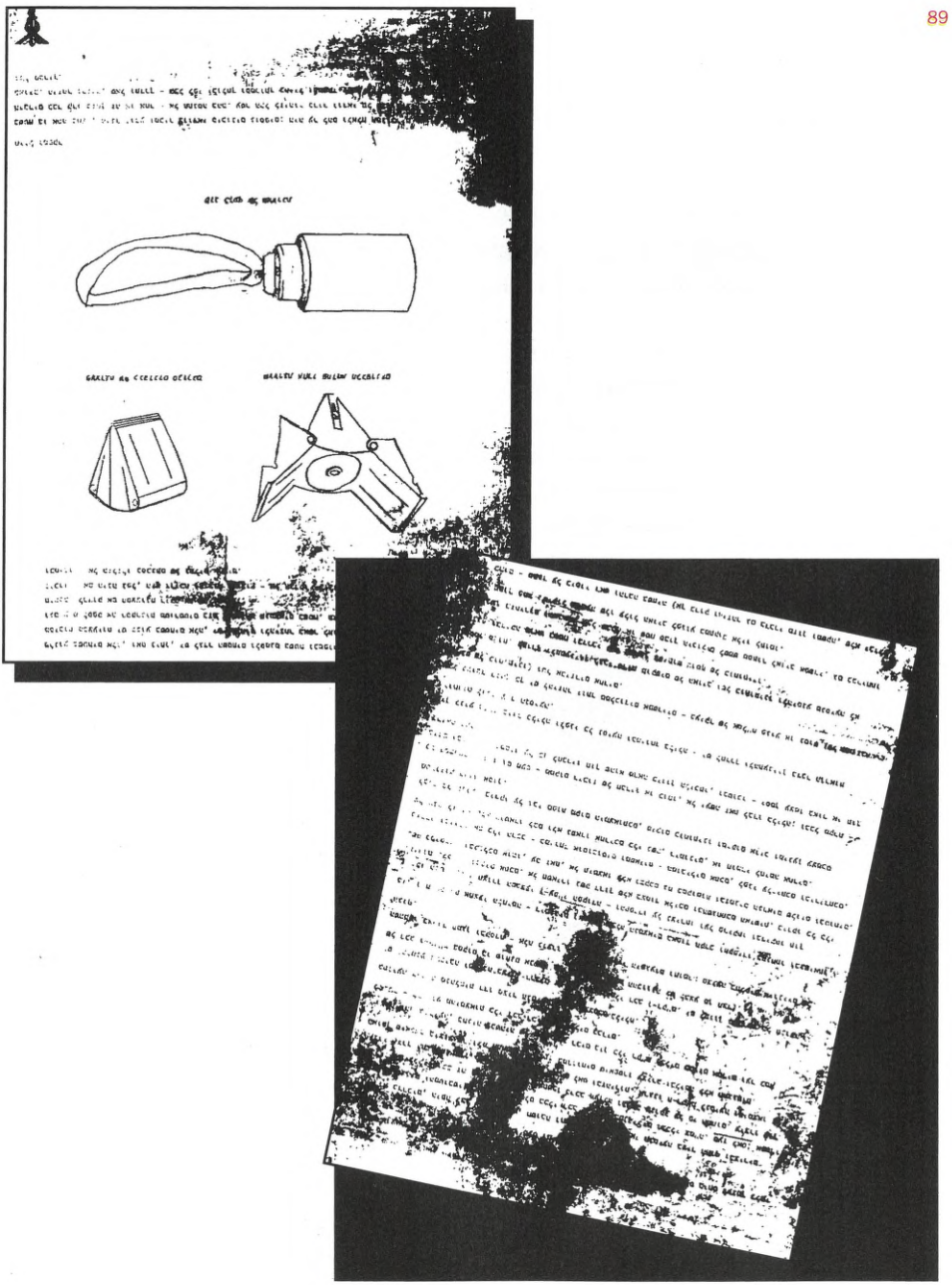
THE ISRAELI ARMY WARNS ITS TROOPS

While Israel has consistently either denied use of cluster bombs in Lebanon or offered a limited admission of its occasional use against military concentrations, much evidence to the contrary exists following weeks of silence or denials, on June 26, 1982, Israeli Chief of Staff Eitan made an announcement, carried on Israeli armed forces radio, that eight Israeli soldiers had been killed or injured picking up unexploded cluster bombs in Lebanon.

On June 27, General Yariv, against the backdrop of accumulating and irrefutable evidence, admitted that Israel was using cluster bombs. Even with these admissions, other Israeli army and political leaders continued to deny the use of cluster bombs.

Reproduced below is a bloodstained copy of an Israeli Army order in Hebrew, removed on September 5, 1982, from the body of an Israeli officer east of Beirut's Akka Hospital. This document was issued on June 25, 1982, by Chief of Staff Eitan in his orders of the day, and is titled *Safety Instructions to Commanders and Soldiers Staying in Lebanon and in the NorthernArea.* It states in part:

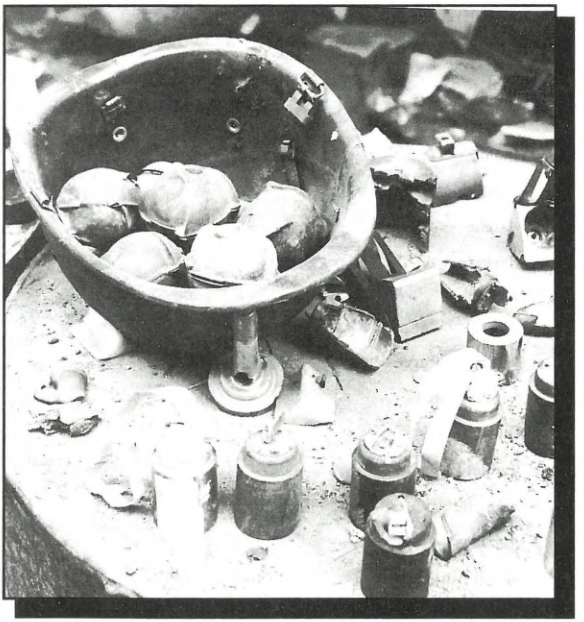
In areas where cluster-fragmentation bombs (bomblets) have been put into action, from the air or by artillery, there are a lot of falls [Editor's note: many unexploded ones on the ground]. One must avoid moving in those areas, and if possible, these zones must be fenced-off and they must be signaled both on the ground and on the maps, at least in the vicinity ofourforces. If, for operational reasons, these areas must be moved through, special precautions must be taken while moving. In order for you to know what to be aware of and also in order to satisfy curiosity, here are sketched the two most common sorts found in the field.



Beware not to walk on them and do not touch them and do not be tempted to check if it is empty or loaded. Remember, if it has fallen, it is loaded and ready to explode — *do not experience its efficiency on your own bodies* — and indeed do not overlook the danger of other projectiles. [Emphasis added.]
The three diagrams are titled:

- An extra sort of bomblet
- Bomblet with open wings
- Bomblet with closed wings

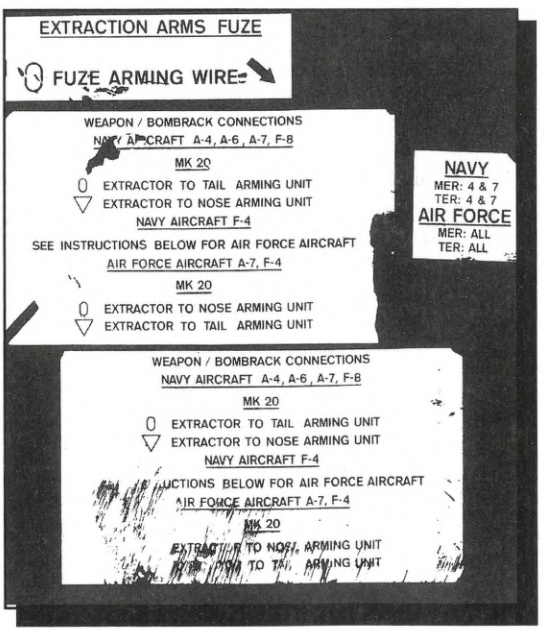
The fact of the Israeli government's issuing these orders regarding cluster bombs constitutes probative evidence of their use. Moreover, the language of the military order expressly conveys the fact of their wide spread use and identifies two of the most common types. Although not named, they are the M-43 and the M-42 antipersonnel grenades. These weapons were supplied to Israel by the United States under the US Foreign Military Sales Program.



The above photo, provided by *London Daily Telegraph* photographer Jill Brown, shows parts from five types of cluster bombs used by Israel, including CBU-58 (BLU 63/B), MK-20 Rockeye, MK-42, M-46, and M-43 Butterfly. In the background can be seen MK-7. Mode 2 type dispensers used for the Rockeyes.

Within West Beirut, the researchers established to their satisfaction the following sites where CBU-58 CBU-58 (BLU-63B), CBU-59/B APAM (BLU-77/B), MK-20 Rockeye, M-43, M-42, or M-46 type cluster bombs had been dropped by Israel (map follows) between June and September 1982:

- Avenue General de Gaulle at Rue Negrib Ardati, near the Hotel Lords
- Boulevard Saleheddine El Ayoubi, near the Hotel Marhaba
- Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp
- Cite Sportive
- Corniche Maazra
- Fakhani
- Hamra, at the Central Lebanese Post Office



The above decals with US Navy and air force markings were removed by the writer from a cluster bomb dispenser which hit West Beirut in late July, 1982. Upon returning to Washington, D.C. the researcher showed these and other decals, serial numbers taken from other cluster bombs, photos, slides, pieces of other canisters which had been cut up for transport, and examples of the bomblets themselves to US Pentagon specialists. These specialists conclusively identified all parts as coming from American manufactured cluster bombs.

- Henry Ford Street, near the Sunrise Hotel
- Madame Curie Road, near the Crystal Hotel
- Mann Street, 1-½ blocks from the USSR Embassy
- Off Maszoudi Street, behind Protestant College
- The warehouse on Hachem al Khalil Street in the Talat Al Khayat district
- Ramlet El Bida at Rue Farid Tard
- Rue Alameddine, near the public garden
- Rue Jalloul near the Pine Crest
- Rue Suleiman, near the Lebanese University
- Rue Sowraty at Rue Caise, near the American University Hospital
- Sabra
- Shatila refugee camp

Each of these particular place-name locations was hit by one or more cluster bombs between mid-June and August 1982.

PARTIAL LIST OF LOCATIONS WHERE ISRAEL DROPPED CLUSTER BOMBS

Below is a representative listing of dates, places and verified results of the Israeli use of US-made cluster bombs against the civilian population of Lebanon. This listing is by no means exhaustive. Each identified use was attested to by the eyewitness testimony of medical personnel family members of the killed or wounded, or journalists on the scene While only verified civilian casualties are noted, a closer estimate of total Palestinian and Lebanese victims is 400 killed and 725 injured—the vast majority being civilians.

Date	Place	Cluster Bomb Type	Killed	Wounded
March - April 1974	Bedawi refugee camp	various	25	63
		CBU-24	9 children	-
		CBU-58	-	-
1974	Hasbayia & Rachaya	CBU-58	unknown	unknown
Juiy 1975	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	M-43	unknown	unknown
Juiy 1975	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	CBU-58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
March 16, 1978	Kfar Tibnit	CBU 58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
March - April 1978	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	CBU 58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
April 10, 1978	Bourj al-Chemali	CBU 58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
April 21 - 25, 1978	Nabatiyeh refugee camp	various	47	80
May 6-8, 1979	near Beaufort Castle	CBU 58 (BLU-63B)	2	
May 6-8 ,1979	Nahr el Bared Mohamarah (wedding party)	various	7	40
August 23	Rashidyeh & Tyre	1,500 cluster bombs found on beach		
September 1, 1979	refugee camps			
August 1979	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	CBU 58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
Fall 1979	Yahamar	unknown	unknown	unknown
October 1979	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	unknown	unknown	unknown
November 11, 1979	Rashidiyeh schoolyard	unknown	4 children	
June 1982	Ain Dara			
June 1982	Am Anoub			
June 1982	Meshref	various		1
June 1982	Hammana	various	unknown	unknown
June 1982	Kaber Choun			
June 1982	Ghabeiry	various	1	
June 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh	M-42, M-43,		3 children
	refugee camp	M-46, MK-20 Rockeye		

Date	Place	Cluster Bomb Type	Killed	Wounded
June 5, 1982	Ain El Helweh	M-43	unknown	unknown
Jun 5, 1982	Nabityeh	M-42, M-43, M-46	unknown	unknown
June 5-6, 1982	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye	unknown	unknown
June 7, 1982	Bourj al-Chemali refugee camp	M-42, M-43, M-46	unknown	unknown
June 13, 1982	Shatila refugee camp	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye		2
mid-June, mid-August, 1982	Bir Hasan	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye	unknown	unknown
June 23 - 25, 1982	Shatila refugee camp	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye, CBU-58	1	
July 2, 1982	Kuwaiti Embassy	M-43		6
July 3, 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp	M-43		
mid-July 1982	Sabra refugee camp	M-42, M-46	unknown	unknown
July 22, 1982	West Beirut	M-42, M-46	unknown	unknown
July 27, 1982	West Beirut International Airport	M-43	unknown	unknown
August 20, 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp	M-43		1
mid-June - August 4, 1982	West Beirut (Avenue General de Gaulle, Boulevard, Salaheddine Al Ayoubi, Cite Sportive, Cornische Maazra, Falchani, Hamra, Henry Ford Street, Madame Curie Road, Mariri Street, near Maszoudi Rd., Ramlet El Bida, Rue Alameddine, Rue Jalloul, Rue Soleiman, Rue Souraty)	M-42, M-43, M-46, CBU-58B, MK-20, Rockeye	unknown	unknown

Date	Place	Cluster Bomb Type	Killed	Wounded
October 9, 1982	Sabra	M-42		1
October 15, 1982	West Beirut	M-43	1 child	1
October 30, 1982	South Lebanon	various	unknown	unknown
November 2, 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp	CBU-58		4

LEBANESE CITIZENS DISTRIBUTE POSTERS WARNING NEIGHBORS OF CLUSTER BOMBS

While the civilian population of Lebanon lacks technical information about cluster bombs, many have become rather expert on how they function as well as their effects.

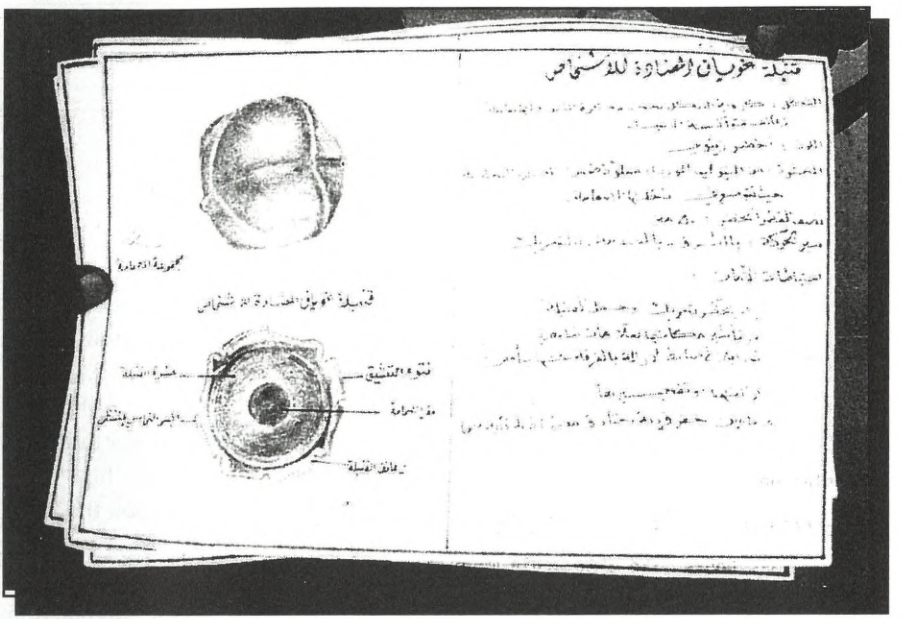
One refugee camp leader in West Beirut reported: I can tell how the bomb works basically, the name we have given to the bomb, where it hit, how much damage it did, how many people it killed, but I cannot always tell you the exact terms for its mechanisms in English.

Several community organizations including an association of women from various refugee camps, distributed posters warning citizens of the danger from the four most commonly used cluster bombs discussed above.

The following pages show photographs of these posters which warn the local population against picking up or disturbing unexploded cluster bomb grenades. The posters are found mainly in refugee camps and village areas. The Arabic writing warns the citizens of the danger of cluster bombs; not to touch unexploded cluster bombs; to call responsible persons for help; and to dig a large hole if the bomb is to be made safe by burial.

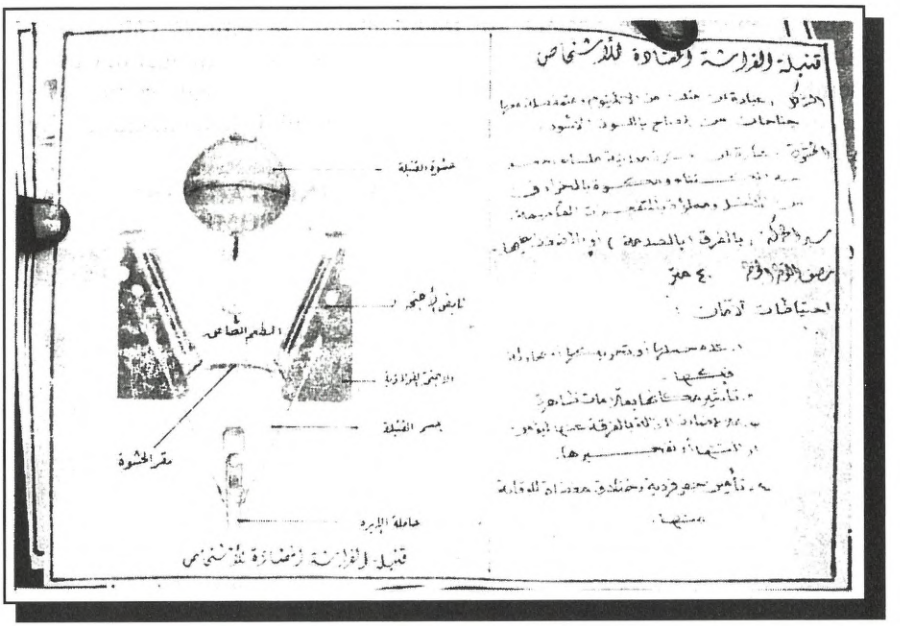
96

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST BLU63 HIGH EXPLOSIVE CLUSTER BOMB



Translation of the above poster:
Antipersonnel Goyak Bomb (BLU/63B)
Shape: Circular in the size of a tennis ball, it has eight ridges opposite of each other.
Color: Olive green
Contents: Pink minol-fills the inside of the brass center which is inserted inside the detonator.
Half Dimension
Danger: (Danger Zone) 50 metres (Danger zone).
Direction of movement: In highways, by shock and by gravity.
Safety precautions: Do not carry the bomb. Designate the location in a conspicuous way. Inform a military person about it in order to secure its removal or its destruction. Dig individual holes and cover the hole or trench to safeguard from it.

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST MK 20 (MK 118) CLUSTER BOMBS



M — 43EI type, high explosive antipersonnel grenade

Translation of the above poster:

Anti-Personnel Butterfly Bomb (M43E1)

Shape: Looks like a triangle made out of aluminum, and it has two wings made of steel in black color.

Contents: It is like a metallic mineral ball the size of a chestnut inside the triangle. It is covered with holes from inside and loaded with deadly explosives.

Movement: Highways by shock (concussion) or by pressing on it.

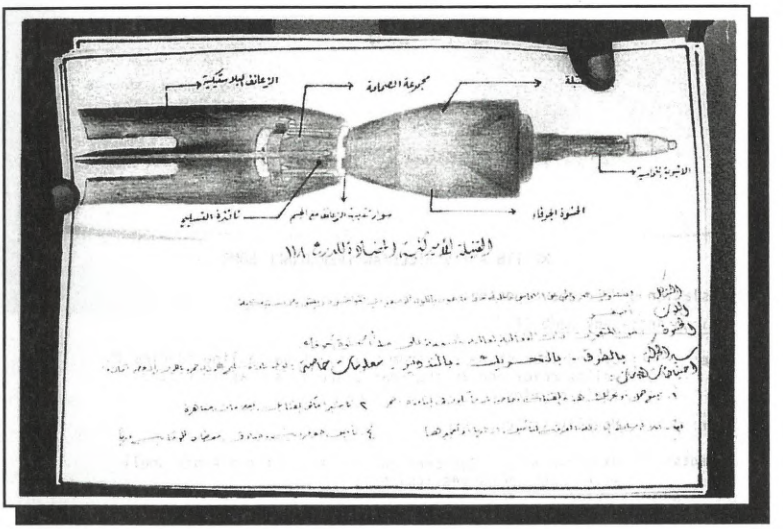
Safety area: Approximately 40 meters.

Safety precautions: Don't carry it, or remove it or, attempt to disassemble it. Designate its location very clearly. Inform a military person to secure its removal or to detonate it. Dig individual holes and cover them to safeguard against it.

98 It is the submission of the writer that the fact that the Lebanese neighborhood associations felt compelled to distribute this kind of poster— given all the other pressing problems of the Israeli siege—is itself rather probative evidence of the widespread Israeli use of the cluster bombs against the civilian population of Lebanon. Below, the photos of the posters show:

1. The CBU-58 Bomblet or BLU-63 High Explosive Fragmentation Bomb
2. The MK-20 Hawkeye Bomblet, called by the Pentagon MK-118 Antivehicle/ Antipersonnel Bomb.

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST MK 20 (MK 118) CLUSTER BOMBS

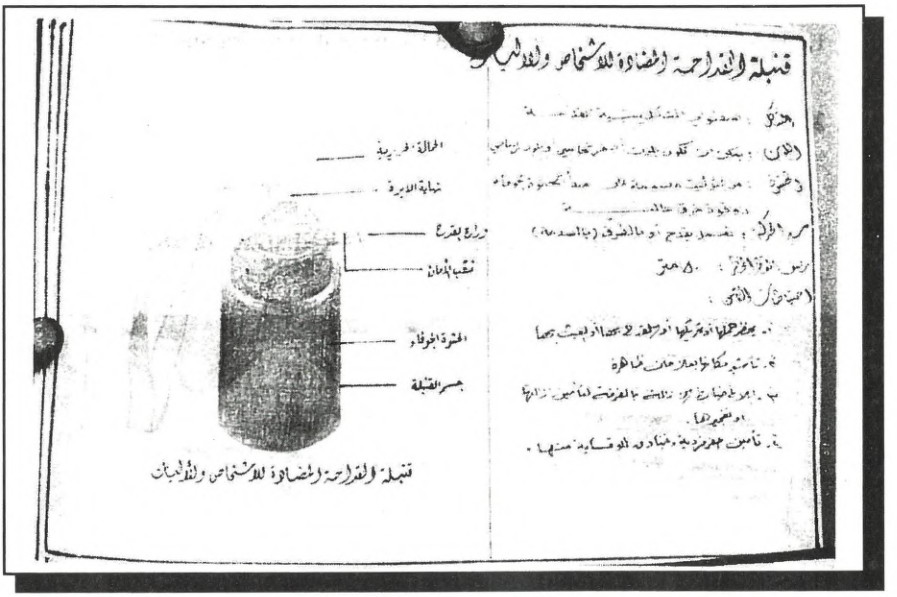


M-42 high explosive dual purpose grenade

Translation of the above poster:
Lighter-Anti-Personnel and Anti—tank Bomb (M-42).
Shape: Cylindrical shape like a lighter.
Color: It may be brass yellow or lead color.
Contents: Minol fills the empty cone, which has a strong penetration power.

Movement: Operates by trigger or on the highway by shock (concussion).
Safety area: Approximately 50 meters.
Safety precautions: Do not carry it, remove it, or touch the trigger or play with it. Inform a military person so it can be removed or destroyed. Dig individual holes and cover the holes to safeguard from it.

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST M-42 CLUSTER BOMBS



Mk-118 antivehicle/antipersdnnel b0mb

Translation of the above poster:
American Anti—Tank Bomb 118
Shape: Cylindrical shape cut from brass, it has a line painted in yellow color and in the rear there is a plastic feather
(tail or fin).
Color: Usually yellow

Contents: High explosives Designed on the basis of the empty shell with high explosives inside.
Dn highways, movement by blast.
There is a window which appears red if the bomblet is armed or green if the safety is on.
It is extremely dangerous to carry or remove this bomb, especially when the red color is showing from the window. Clearly mark the place where the bomb is located. Inform a demolition expert or military person to secure its removal and to detonate it. Dig individual holes and cover the ditches to safeguard against the bomb.
The Butterfly or M-43E1 type high explosive antipersonnel grenade.
The Battery or Lighter Bomb, technically named the M-42 High Explosive Dual Purpose Grenade.

MEDICAL AFFIDAVITS CONCERNING CLUSTER BOMB INJURIES

Of the twenty five hospitals and clinics operating in West Beirut during late July and August 1982, many were partially destroyed by Israeli aerial, sea, or land bombardment, despite exhibiting Red Cross and/or Red Crescent insignias. Dr. Samir Thabit, acting president of the American University of Beirut, told me that he was considering having the large red cross painted outside Jessup and West Hall removed. His reason was that from what he had been advised by civil defense workers and Red Cross personnel around West Beirut, the Red Cross insignia actually appeared to draw Israeli fire—certain elements of the Israeli military apparently feeling that bombing hospitals presented an opportunity to "finish the job" against wounded terrorists and their sympathizers. Included is a partial list of damaged or destroyed hospitals or clinics, some of which were hit by cluster bombs:

BEIRUT AREA

- Haifa Hospital
- Dar Al Ajazy Handicapped Center

- Islamic Mental Hospital
- Al Kafayat School for the Disabled
- Ras Beirut Hospital
- Makassed Home for the Elderly
- Development Organization for Human Abilities at Aramoun (DOHA) (an International Year of the Handicapped project)
- Al Ramadham Orphanage in Ouzai
- Islamic Psychiatric Hospital in Beirut
- The Armenian hospital at Aazzouniye, 16 miles southeast of Beirut
- Al Mau Hospital
- Chtaura Hospital in the Bekka Valley
- Triumph Hotel Clinic
- La Hout Hospital (Near East School of Theology)
- Gaza Hospital
- Berbir Hospital

MAKASSED HOSPITAL

- Mouseitbi Medical Center
- Antranic Center
- French Center (College Protestante) SIDON and TYRE

According to a July 12, 1982 report of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) the following hospitals were completely destroyed or damaged:

- Rashid Khoury Hospital
- Labib Medical Centre
- Shoaib Hospital
- Elias Eli Hospital
- Ramzi-Shaab Hospital
- Dalaah Hospital
- Hammoud Hospital
- Al Haji Hospital
- Osseiran Hospital

- Government Hospital (completely destroyed)
- Jabal Amel Hospital
- Palestine Red Crescent Hospital (forced closure)
- Dr. Ismail Bahr Hospital (totally destroyed)

The functioning clinics of West Beirut were primarily makeshift, put together from the salvage and supplies of hospitals and clinics bombed earlier in the invasion. La Hout Hospital, for example, was set up in the library of the Near East School of Theology, and other clinics were set up at the Triumph Hotel and at the French Protestant College, Basta Center, and others. Many of the most serious cases were transferred to the American University Hospital (AUH), a facility partly funded by the US government.

On August 4, 1982, a day of intensive Israeli bombing and shelling, more than 2,000 refugees sought haven in the AUH. These desperate people correctly believed that, partly because the hospital was American, they might be safe at AUH. They slept in the hallways and many children were placed, with blankets, in large Project Hope cardboard boxes.

Doctors at the following nineteen hospitals and clinics signed sworn medical affidavits concerning their treatment of cluster bomb patients, most of whom had sustained their wounds in locations throughout Lebanon From mid-June to the end of August 1982, however, most of the patients arriving at these facilities had been injured in West Beirut itself

- American University Hospital
- Akka Hospital
- Gaza Hospital
- Makassed Hospital
- Barbir Hospital
- Trad Hospital
- El Turk Hospital
- Najjar Hospital
- Al-Nasra Hospital (for children)
- Beirut Hospital

- La Hout Center (Near East School of Theology)
- French Center (College Protestante)
- Haret Hrek Center
- Triumph Center
- Antranic Center
- Hagazian Center
- Basta Center
- Mouseitbi Center
- Abdel Kader Center

The affidavits indicate that the number of civilian cluster bomb casualties—in proportion to victims of other types of wounds—had been very great in West Beirut and throughout Lebanon Furthermore the affidavits are probative evidence of the widespread and indiscriminate use by Israel of American-made cluster bombs against the civilian population of Lebanon and West Beirut.

AFFADAVIT
CLUSTER BOMB TECHNOLOGY

Cluster bombs or cluster bomb units (CBUs) are a type of fragmentation munition designed to maximize the effectiveness or kill power of the fragmentation principle. According to Pentagon document Navair 11- 5A-30:

Cluster bombs are air-to-surface free-fall unguided weapons for delivery from low-speed, or high-speed fixed-wing aircraft. The CBU 58 bomb cluster may also be delivered from rotary-wing aircraft (helicopters). The weapons are effective against personnel in defensive positions, light material targets, booby traps, foliage, and in clearing helicopter landing zones.

Fragmentation munitions themselves, much in use in all wars in the twentyth century, function by the explosion of a large number of fragments at high velocity, normally in a symmetrical pattern around the exploding munition. Weapons, from hand grenades to percussion bombs, are based on the fragmentation principle of employing destructive shrapnel or projectiles.

The United States manufactures more than 100 kinds of cluster bomb munitions and more than thirty are currently listed in its inventory. Cluster bombs have a highly refined technologically to achieve a selected result through controlled fragmentation. That is, they can hit more people at greater velocity in one of several available configurations. Cluster bombs are designed for use with missiles, helicopters, high-speed/performance aircraft, such as the F-iS and the F-16, 155 mm or 175 mm artillery shells, or 8-inch cannon and 16-inch cannon for a variety of combat conditions and perceived requirements.

As a result of state-of-the-art technology, a single CBU munition has the equivalent impact of a pinpoint barrage of more than 600 simultaneous rounds of 81mm fire.

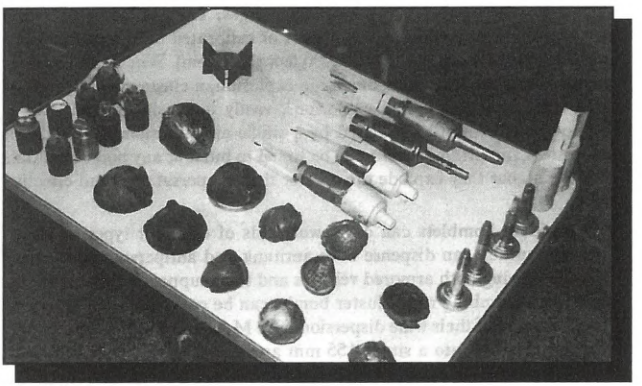


Photo: Franklin Lamb

Above photo shows samples of 8 types of American cluster bombs which Israel used against Lebanon. From left to right: M-42, M-46, CBU-58 A/B (BLU-61/B), CBU-58/B (BLU-63/B), CBU-24 GUAVA, (BLU-26/B), CBU-59/B APAM (BLU-77/B), MK-20 Rockeye (MK-118), and the M-43 (Birdie as the US Marines refer to it) at the top of the photo.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLUSTER AND FRAGMENTATION BOMBS

As the name implies, cluster munitions or bombs are deployed in

aggregates, as many as 670 bomblets in a dispenser. A traditional fragmentation munition, such as the 'iron bomb, is a single munition which explodes into relatively few pieces militarists have learned that for many close-support functions, the traditional iron bomb is of rather limited use.
For example, with respect to armored vehicles such as tanks, even a 1,000-pound bomb must land very close to a tank to damage of destroy it. Given even the best achievable delivery accuracy the chances of a kill are fairly minimal.

One method of improving the destructive power of a bomb is to sub-divide the fragmentation explosive into sub-bomblets so as to attain a shotgun like dispersion of the destructive power. This is the principle of the cluster bomb.One of the first steps, taken in the early 1960s, to increase the number of lethal fragments from munitions of a given weight and size was to introduce the Bomb, Live Unit (BLU), an individual bomb-let case weighing one or two pounds with its own explosive filler, packed by the hundreds into a larger container, the Suspended Underwing Unit (SUU). The fully assembled container with bomblets is called the Cluster Bomb Unit (CBU). In cluster bombs, a metal casing surrounds a very high explosive such as composition-A, cyclotol or minol (a mixture of TNT, RDX explosive and aluminum). When detonated, the high explosive converts instantaneously to hot expanding gas. The gas blows the scored container and its casing into hundreds of calibrated or scored fragments which travel at speeds of up to 21,000 feet per second. Whereas a fragmentation bomb produces only one large explosion, a cluster bomb produces several hundred individual explosions, vastly increasing the number of high-velocity projectiles released by a single air munition.
Cluster bomb cannisters and artillery shells can be timed to burst at any point in midair, but the higher they explode the greater their dispersal area and effectiveness.

Individual bomblets can carry warheads of different types, so that a single munition can dispense both antitank and antipersonnel bomblets, thus destroying both armored vehicles and their supporting ground troops in a single bombing run. Cluster bombs can be considered an area weapon because of their wide dispersion. The M-42 and M-46 cluster bombs, packed together into a single 155 mm artillery shell or any 8-inch or 16- inch cannon, are a good example.

Given area targets such as armored formations or convoys, aircraft

equipped with bomblet-dispensing cluster munitions can wreak great destruction amidst densely packed targets. This concentrated firepower is one of the fundamental reasons why the United States and the Soviet Union have emphasized the development of cluster bombs. As can readily be imagined, they are even more devastating to humans than to vehicles or other targets.

The physical effects of cluster bomb projectiles are also easily distinguishable from those of fragmentation bombs and bullet holes. The conventional fragmentation bombs of 155 mm caliber explode, on average, into 2,000 to 3,000 fragments weighing approximately five grams each (see Photo # xxx). The same 155 mm caliber shell filled with cluster munitions produces 45,000 projectiles weighing less than .5 grams each at five times the velocity. This means that, on the average, a victim of a cluster bomb might be hit by three ultra high velocity fragments of 15 grains rather than by one slower fragment of 65 grains. If a SUU-type canister, rather than an artillery shell, is used to drop the cluster bombs, the results increase. For example, each cluster bomblet or grenade may fracture into as many as 300 projectiles. A cluster bomb with approximately 650 grenades (CBU-58) can eject over 200,000 projectiles at rifle-bullet velocity.

Loaded with cluster bombs, one aircraft attack can detonate more than 15,000,000 high velocity projectiles over a predetermined area.

AREA OF DISTRIBUTION

Although the precise area of destruction of CBUs is classified, various experts have estimated that each CBU-24 (now somewhat outdated) kills or wounds in an area of 100 square yards. Newer cluster bomb types can devastate an area of 3,000 square yards. Some experts have estimated that a single fighter aircraft carrying CBUs could covers an area measuring from 1 to 15 square kilometers (one-half to nine square miles), depending on how it is dropped.

Given that some aircraft can carry 20 or more cluster bombs, this becomes a vast area. For example, a bomber loaded with 38 CBU-24/Bs (or the equivalent CBU-58) would cover an area of 2,548 square kilo meters A single CBU-24/B containmg 670 BLU-26/B bomblets (one of the types used by Israel in Lebanon) coves an area of 80,400 square yards.

For these reasons, cluster bombs are highly effective against soft targets—combatants in the open or unprotected civilian populations—as well as vulnerable targets such as radar stations, nonarmored vehicles, light vessels, aircraft, and helicopters.

Because of this vast area of destruction per unit, CBUs dropped in large numbers in a single attack have indiscriminate effects: there is a great danger of hitting non-military targets, even if single warheads are directed against military targets such as an antiaircraft unit near a population center.

Given such factors as height, speed, winds, and structural design of the release system and of the bomblets themselves, exact targeting is not possible.

TYPES OF CLUSTER BOMBS

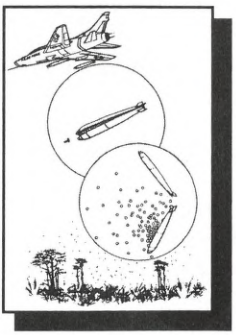
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The concept of cluster bombs dates from before World War II, but it may be said that cluster bombs came of age in Vietnam. One of the most widely used cluster bombs in Vietnam was the so-called Pineapple. The Pineapple is in fact a cylindrical BLU-3 antimateriel fragmentation bomblet with pop-out vanes for stabilizing the bomblet in flight and causing it to land upright. Each Pineapple contains 16 kg of cyclotol. Upon detonation, approximately 250 1/4-inch steel balls embedded in the sides of the BLU-3 and in the center cavity are propelled in all directions at very high velocity. The SUU-7 dispenser, similar to the SUU-30 dispensers Israel used in Lebanon, contain approximately 630 of the BLU-3 Pineapple bomblets.

A Vietnam-era precursor to the cluster bombs Israel used in Lebanon is the CBU-24. This type is dropped from an SUU-30 series dispenser which contains 670 of the BLU-26/B bomblets. In Vietnam, as in Lebanon, the technical data were unknown to the population, and the CBU-24, which is the size of a tennis ball, became known as the Guava. Like the Pineapple, the Guava consisted of steel balls embedded in the casing of the bomblet and was propelled by the high explosive cyclotol at very high speed. Flanges cause the bomblets to spin and stabilize them in flight, so that they are dispersed universally. The CBU-24 can be made to explode

on the ground or with a delayed fuse hours after the attack. For example, the BLU-36 consists of a BLU-26 fitted with a delay fuse so that it will explode later.

Above: Twenty-two CBU-24 (Blu 26/B) cluster bombs which were dropped on South Lebanon near Nabatiyeh on April 19, 1978. This type of cluster bomb which is very similar to the CBU.58 cluster bomblet contains 300 ball bearings which explode in all directions upon explosion. It was not used during the June 1982 Israeli invasion probably because, being an older model and having been used by Israel against Southern Lebanon since 1974, Israel has few, if any, left. (Please note: when written in 1982 this was a reasonable guess. However Israel did have some left and used them in 1993 and 1996. It also used the ancient CBU 58/B in 2006 which made it 34 years past the 365 day warranty. One Pentagon official commented: Well what do they (Israel's leaders) care...they got them free from the US and whether or not they work is quite another matter for them.



A third type of cluster bomb used in Lebanon was the CBU-25, which consists of a BLU-24 bomblet known as the Orange and which was dropped by the SUU-I 4 dispenser. The BLU-24, like the BLU-26 and 36, is spherical (about the size of a baseball) and contains the high explosive cyclotol. It can be armed with a time-delay fuse. Curved plastic vanes are attached at one end of the bomblet to aid in stabilization and arming. All of these bomblets operate in a similar fashion and release hundreds of high- velocity projectiles.

Among the arms manufacturers who developed and manufactured the Pineapple, Guava and Orange cluster bombs were Honeywell, Inc., Aero Jet General Corporation and Avco Corporation

ISRAEL'S PURCHASE AND GIFTS OF US CLUSTER BOMBS

While the United States has sold cluster bombs to approximately fifteen countries, including NATO countries, as well as Iran, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia, by far the greatest concentration of shipments has been to Israel.

Between 1973 and 1975 Israel received more than 20,000 cluster bombs of the CBU-241B Guava, CBU-521B, CBU-58/ALB, CBU-591B, and MK-20 types. All types of cluster bombs were also used in Vietnam. Indeed, one of the reasons why Israel received them was that, following urgent requests during the October 1973 Yom Kippur War, the United States emptied some of its warehouses of supplies left over from Vietnam and sent them to Israel. In addition to the CBU's noted above, thousands of 155 mm artillery shells filled with M-42, M-46, or M-43 type cluster bombs were sent to Israel, as well as an uncertain number of cluster bombs filled with flechettes.

The latest announced purchases of cluster bombs in dispensers—i e, the CBU-58 Family and the MK-20 Rockeye—were in 1975 and 1976. The latter was a $72.8 million purchase of MK-20 Rockeyes, along with MK-82 Snakeye and M- 117 Destructor bombs, as well as other air munitions, for a total of 180,000 bombs.

Israel has continued to purchase large quantities of cluster munitions fired in 155 mm artillery shells: the M-42, M-46, and M-43 types—27,384, 355 between January 2, 1979, and December 4, 1980.

Exact statistics on Israel's cluster bomb purchases are difficult to ferret out because such purchases usually are classified (at the request of Israel). Under Sections 25a, 36a, and 36b of the Arms Export Control Act, notifications of purchases from the State Department or the Defense Security; Assistance Agencies are made to Congress, but this information is classified if it takes the form of order of battle information. In other words, if the recipient

does not wish the information made public, it can request that the purchase be classified. It should be borne in mind that the US Government classifies information for basically two reasons, national security and foreign policy. The classification of Israel's weapons purchases comes under the heading of foreign policy. The recent, fairly standard reply given by the US government to inquiries concerning arms shipments to Israelis that negotiations with Israel over events in Lebanon are in a very delicate stage and making public information about arms shipments may be damaging to this effort.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CLUSTER BOMBS WHICH ISRAEL USED IN LEBANON IN 1982, 1993, AND 1996

CBU-24/B (BLU-26/B GUAVA BOMBLET)

Like the CBU-52 and the CBU-58, the CBU-24 makes use of the SUU-30 cluster bomb dispenser. It contains 670 BLU-26 fragmentation bomblets which, according to the Pentagon, are anti-personnel anti-material weapons; that is, their primary use is against people, but they also are designed to be used against vehicles such as trucks.

The BLU-26/B bomblet, which people in Southeast Asia came to call the Guava, is spherical, approximately 7 cm in diameter. It has a veined surface which causes it to rotate after it falls from the dispenser; when it reaches 2,000 rpm it arms.

The Guava's main charge is approximately 35 grams (3 ounces) of cyclotol A-3, which impels approximately 300 steel ball bearings in all directions. One of the reasons for replacing the BLU-26 in the late 1960s was a shortage of ball bearings. The Pentagon developed the replacement BLU61 and BLU-63 bomblets without ball bearings. The CBU-24 using the BLU-26 bomblets was perhaps the most heavily used cluster bomb in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

The Guava rained down on many parts of Indochina—literally hundreds of thousands were dropped—with devastating results to the civilian population.

CBU 52/B (BLU 61 BOMBLET)

The CBU 52 uses the same SUU 30 dispenser as the CBU 58, and is similar to the CBU 58 in many other respects The CBU 52 is no longer manufactured, but stockpiles still exist. It was replaced by the CBU-58. Instead of using 650 BLU-63 bomblets as the CBU-58 does, the CBU-52 carries 254 BLU-6 1 anti-personnel/anti-material bomblets.

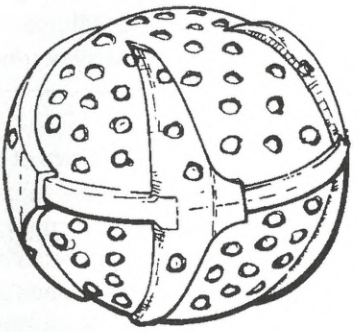
The BLU-6 1 bomblet is larger than the BLU-63. It is about the size of a large orange and weighs 2.2 pounds; whereas the BLU-63 is approximately. The size of a tennis ball and weighs 0.9 pounds. The BLU-6 I contains zirconium and composition-B high-explosive filler and can be used as an incendiary bomblet to cause widespread fires, whereas the BLU-63 contains cyclotol. Both are made of steel and have a scored lining but, because of its different explosive and design, the BLU-63 is somewhat more powerful. In 1971 it replaced the BLU-26 Guava bomblet and the CBU-52.

When the BLU-61 came into general use, an ordnance expert from the Air Force testified about the BLU-6 1 bomblet before a congressional hearing. In describing the 2.2 pound fragmentation bomblet, he testified that the BLU-6 1 bomblet, which the gentleman is holding up here, we put lots of these (254) in dispensers, dropped them on light material targets They do fine from the standpoint of explosives and shrapnel But in order again to set on fire the fuel, we added a liner in the thing to help make it burn. This liner is zirconium. It was fairly high-cost item. Our engineers felt that perhaps by using particles in the explosive itself it would work just as well and it would be cheaper.

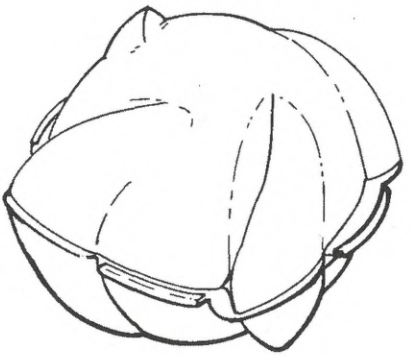
This did work just as well. The liner has been replaced by zirconium particles in the explosive, and this year it is going to save us about $2 per little bomblet, which means the inventory for 1972, the buy, about $8,000,000 cost savings.

Presumably this meant that the purchase for 1972 was four million of the BLU-6 I bomblets. Certainly Israel received supplies of these cluster bombs from stockpiles that had accumulated during the last few years of the Vietnam conflict, and has used them widely in Lebanon.

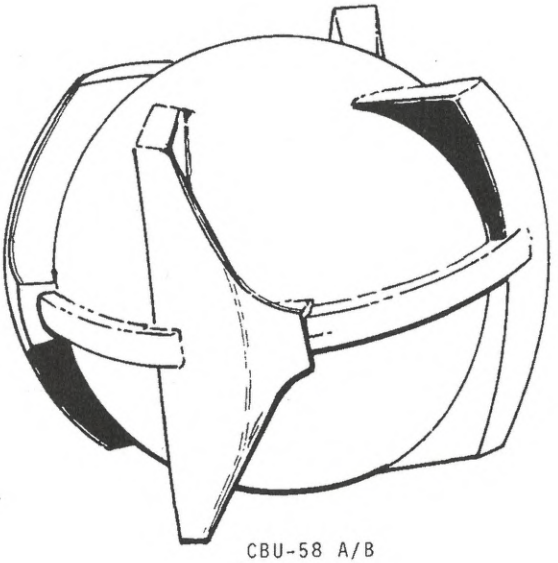
THREE OF THE 10 TYPES OF AMERICAN CLUSTER BOMBS ISRAEL USED IN LEBANON



CBU-24
(BLU-26/B)



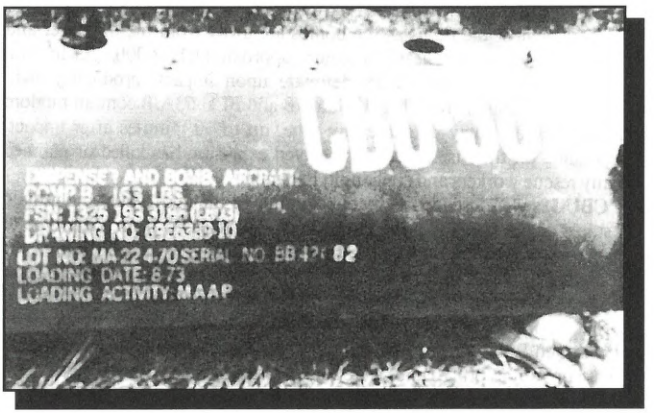
CBU-58/B
(BLU-63/B)



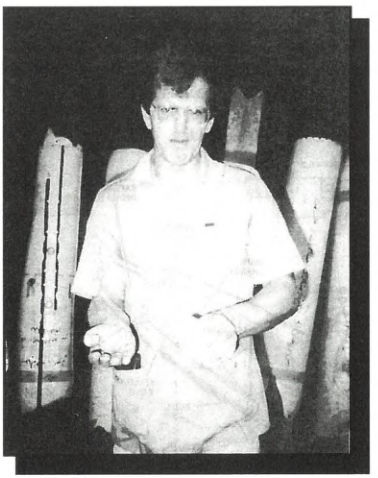
CBU-58 A/B
(BLU-61/B)

THE CBU-58 SERIES (BLU-63/B, BLU-63A/B, BLU-86/B AND BLU-86A/B)

The bombs are submunitions dispensed from the seven-foot-long, SUU30 series air-launched, free-fall dispenser. Together they are designated by the Pentagon as the Cluster Bomb Unit-58/B.



This CBU 58/B cluster bomb dispenser contained 650 BLU 63/B grenades when it was dropped by the Israeli air force near Burj al-Barajneh refugee camp in West Beirut on July 5, 1982.

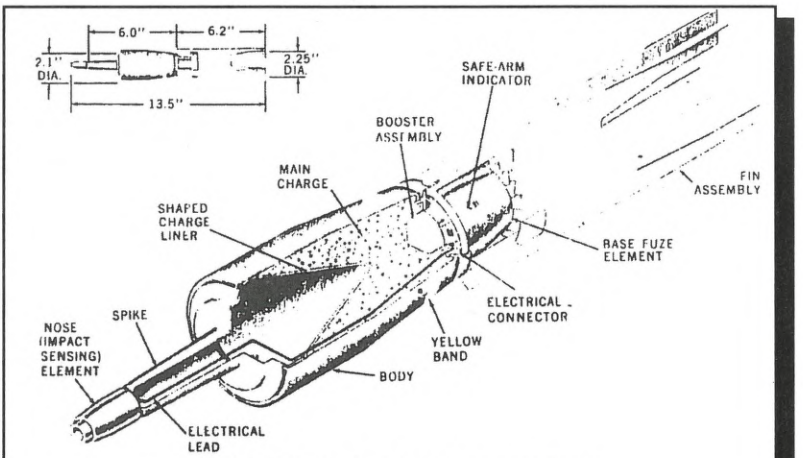


The bomb fuses arm themselves by centrifugal force produced by air pressure against the flutes as the bombs arc away from the dispenser and develop a rapid spin. The fuses require approximately 3,000 rpm to arm The BLU-63/B and BLU-86/B detonate upon impact, producing high-velocity shell fragments. The BLU-86A/B and BLU-63A/B contain random delay fuses that may detonate any time, up to 30 minutes after impact, depending on the fuse used. This delayed explosion has killed or maimed many rescue workers and civilians in Lebanon.

CBU-58s were used in Vietnam beginning in the mid-1960s, and remain a staple of the US military. They are always released from some type of dispensing munition. On release, the bomb spins as it travels through the air stream. The spinning (at 2000 rpm) provides the centrifugal force — required to arm the fuse.

The Pentagon has confirmed that CBU-58s have not been produced in the United States since 1975, although large stockpiles are acknowledged. Large quantities of CBU-58s were sold to Israel in the early 1970s. The CBU-58 system is designed to carry 650 BLU-63/B bomblets of approximately 2.17 inches diameter at 450 pounds, and contain a main charge of approximately 113 grams (4 ounces) of cyclotol. All of the BLU26/B, BLU-36/B, BLU-59/B, and BLU-631B have a booster of 1.5 grams of RDX and a fuse. The filled canister weighs 450 pounds. The area covered by the bomblets depends on several factors, including dispenser load, altitude and wind conditions.

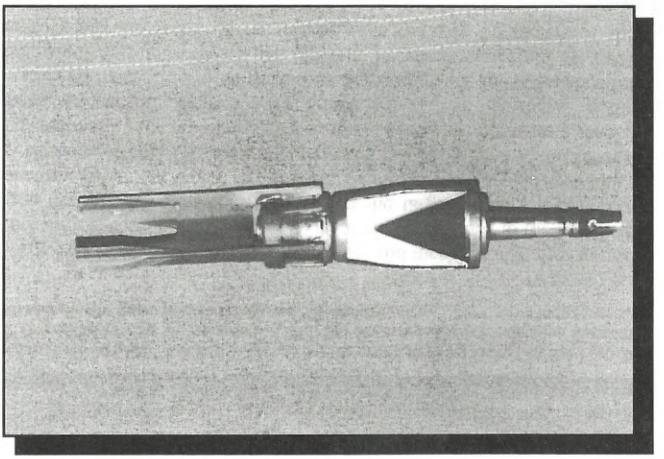
When the bomb is on surface, the lethal radius is 450 feet. For buried bombs, the radius decreases. Some estimates have suggested the average area covered is 5,700 square feet. The CBU-58 system was designed primarily for use against light armor vehicles, trucks, Soviet surface-to-air missile sites, and various types of radar.



MK-118 Antivehicle/Antipersonnel Bomb

THE MK 20 ROCKEYE MK 118 ANTIVEHICLE/ANTIPERSONNEL CLUSTER BOMB

The Rockeye cluster bomb is an unguided free-fall cluster weapon designed primarily for heavy armour and was developed by US naval weapons specialists. The bomb is in the 500 lb (227 kg) category and is carried on and released from high performance aircraft. Sometime after release from the aircraft 247 bomblets are dispensed from the bomb providing a pattern of coverage at ground level for destruction of various targets. Research and development for this weapon was initiated in 1963 and was put in production in 1967. The Rockeye II system was in service with the US navy in Vietnam beginning in 1968.



Above: An MK-20 Rockeye cluster bomb. (Photo courtesy French Multinational Force, West Beirut).

Rockeye cluster bombs have been procured in considerable quantities over a period of ten years, and the current US inventory contains several hundred thousand of these weapons. In October 1977, multi-year contracts were awarded for approximately 100 million dollars for the supply of additional quantities.

The MK-118 is dispensed from the MK-20 Rockeye cluster bomb. A MK-7 Mod 2 dispenser contains the 247 bomblets which are 8-inch dart type grenades.

Above. Two MK-20 Rockeye cluster bombs found in West Beirut by the French MNF contingent. As of late April, 1983, the French explosive ordnance disposal unit still did not know how to defuse the Rockeye.

The MK-118 bomb fuse arms electrically and mechanically after release from the dispenser by rotation of the rotor blades attached to the base fuze upon impact with a hard target. Hitting the target initiates a small detonator in the nose element which stresses a piezoelectric crystal to produce an electric current. The electric current detonates the base fuse element, thus detonating the main explosive charge. Detonation produces a shaped charge jet capable of penetrating 6-inch armor. The Rockeye is the largest and most powerful of the cluster bomb grenades and is designed for use against armored vehicles and bunkers. Fragmentation from the body destroys anyone within a vicinity of approximately 50 meters of the armored vehicles or explosion.

Each of the 247 submunitions contains 1.1 lbs of high explosive inside a heavy-density casing. The grenade shrapnel explodes at speeds of 4,000 feet per second.

The MK-20 cluster bomb was a primary weapon used by Israel in several West Beirut locations between mid-June and late August 1982. In just the period between September 29, 1982 and January 15, 1983, the Italian contingent of the multi-national force (MNF) found in West Beirut 208 unexploded MK-118 bomblets while the US Marines found 190. The French unit also found many.

The MI118s are always used in the MK-20 Mod 7 dispenser. It has been provided to Israel in large quantities through the US Foreign Military Sales program.

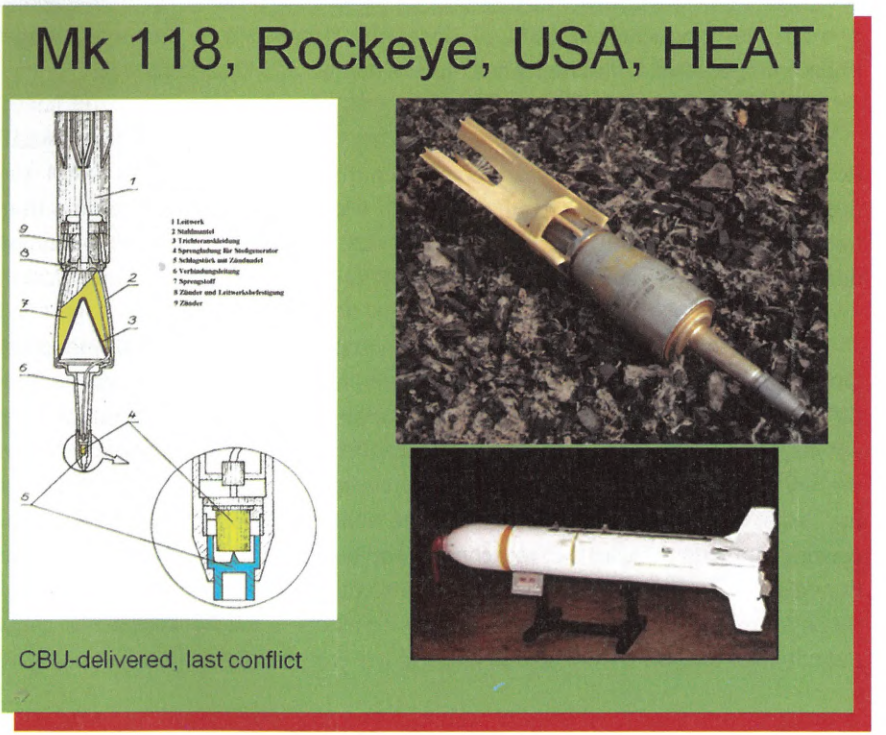
CBU-59/B APAM (BLU-77/B BOMBLET)

The BLU-77/B Bomblet, 717 of which make up each CBU-5 9/B APAM, is designated by the Pentagon as a target discriminating shaped-charge airburst bomblet. The CBU-59/B APAM was developed by the US naval weapons Center and put into production in 1974 by Honeywell. It consists of a shaped-charge, fragmenting warhead, stabilizing fins, nose element, and FMU-88/B fuse.

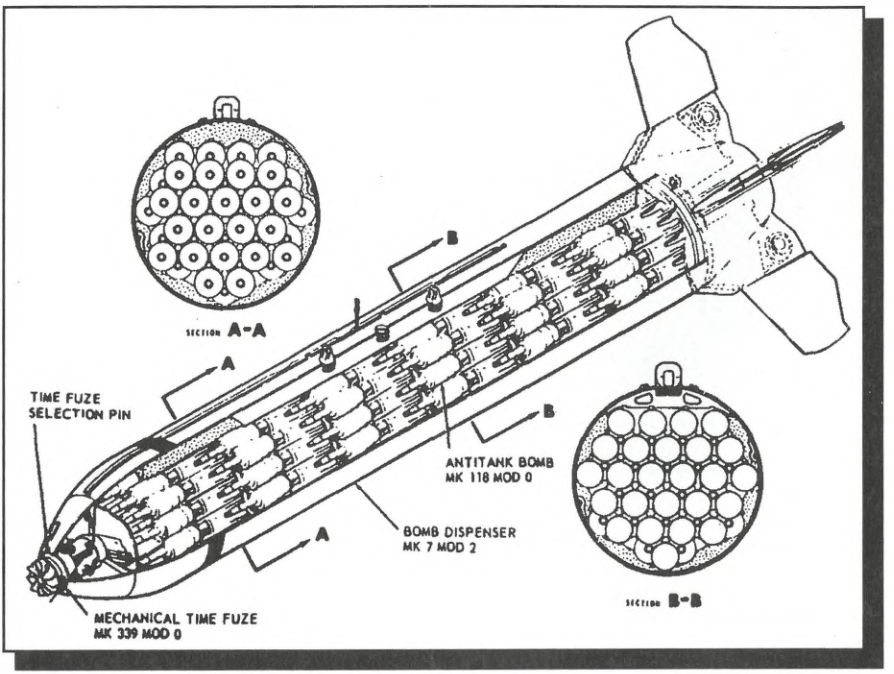
In appearance, the CBU-59s bomblets BLU-771B resemble the MK-118 Rockeye bomblets and the two are often confused. The CBU-59/B APAM was designed for light armor as well as a much broader spectrum of targets than Rockeye. It was the CBU-591B (as well as CBU-58s) that Lt. Robert Goodman dropped on Syrian forces on December 5, 1983, the day his plane was shot down.

The BLU-771B bomblets fall from the dispenser—they are not propelled. When they reach 259 miles per hour (225 knots) the bomblets arm. If they do not reach a speed of 180 mph (165 knots) before striking a target, they will not explode when a BLU-771B bomblet hits a hard target, the striker detonates the warhead. If the bomblet strikes a soft target, the bomblet will penetrate the target until resistance and deceleration activate the delay firing train. A gas cartridge propels the warhead into the air (pop-out) and, at a predetermined time, the delay fuse detonates the warhead. The same dispersion is used for the CBU-59 as for the Rockeye. The APAM uses 717 bomblets to the Rockeye's 247. Large quantities of CBU-59's were sold to Israel in the early 1970s.

A remarkable photo taken by the late American journalist Janet Stevens showing a Mod. 7 cluster bomb dispenser filled with 247 MK-118 Rockeye (MK-20) cluster grenades. Designed by the Pentagon to penetrate 6 inches of steel for use against heavy armor, Janet learned that the Israeli air force dropped this bomb in the pine tree grove next to Sabra and Shatila refugee camp on July 5, 1982.



BLU-77/B BOMBLET

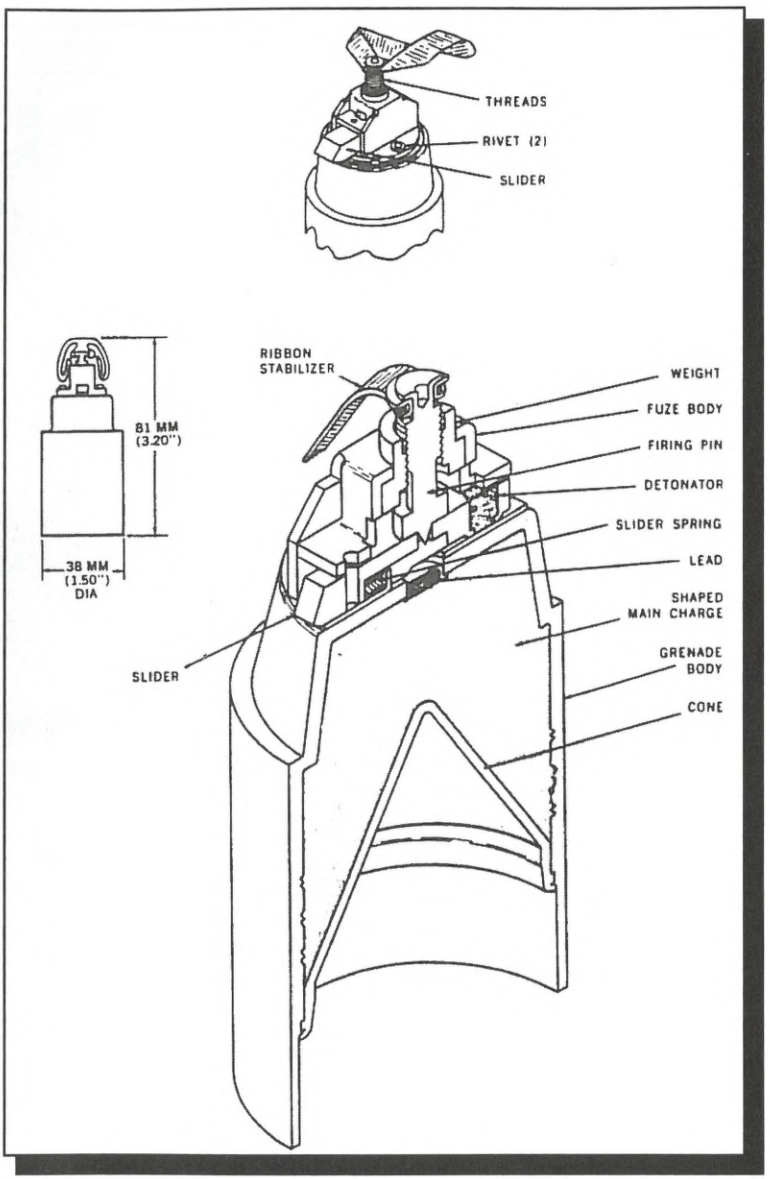


The CBU-59/B apam with BLU 77/B Bomblets

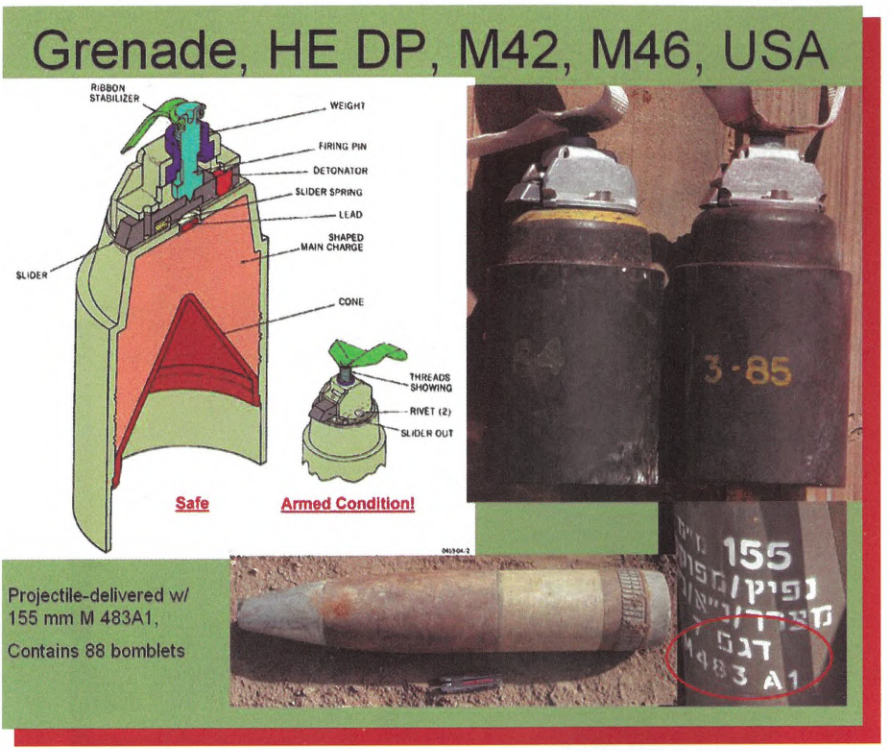
M-42 HIGH-EXPLOSIVE CLUSTER BOMB GRENADE

Because of its shape, the M-42 cluster bomb grenade is commonly referred to among the Lebanese and Palestinian population as the battery bomb or lighter bomb. Israel used the M-42 widely during its June 1982 invasion of Lebanon, although it was not common dunng the Israeli born bardments of 1976, 1978, or 1979.

According to Pentagon sources, the purpose of the M-42 is to provide anti-material and anti-personnel capabilities in a 155 mm artillery shell or an eight-inch howitzer cannon shell.



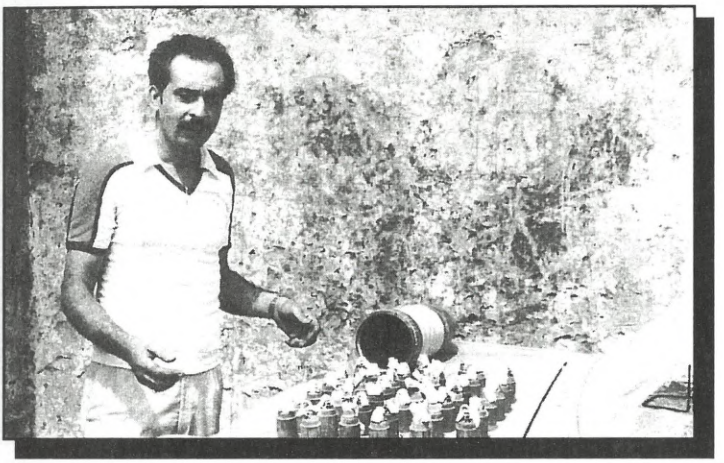
M-42 HE Dual Purpose Grenade



The grenade's nylon ribbon stabilizer extends as soon as the grenade is expelled from the projectile. The stabilizer orients the grenade, and its rotational force causes the threaded firing pin to loosen from the weight (semi armed), pulling the firing pin out of the slide assembly. The slide assembly is then free, and moves into the armed position by action of the slide spring and centrifugal force. The spring maintains the slide assembly in the fully armed position.

Upon impact, inertia weight drives the firing pin into the detonator M-55, initiating the firing train. A shaped-charge jet blasts downward while the body bursts into a large number of fragments able to penetrate 275 inches of homogeneous armor plate. The fragmentation of the grenade body can kill or cause serious injury.

Although the Pentagon designed the M-42 both to pierce armor and to destroy troops, the Israelis have used the grenade indiscriminately in civilian areas and refugee camps of Lebanon. Its use was evident in West Beirut where there were no defined troop concentrations and relatively few troops compared to the size of the civilian population. Dark grey M-42s are designed to deliver both a blast and high-velocity shrapnel in a concentration of personnel. Sixty-four M-42 grenades are packed in a 155 mm artillery shell with 26 M-46 bomblets. SUU dispensers drop 360 M-42s simultaneously.



Above this 155 mm artillery shell containing 64 M-42 and 24 M-46 cluster bomb grenades was among a barrage of cluster bomb shell fired by Israel on the Talat Al Khayat residential district in West Beirut on July 5, 1983. The gentleman pictured is Mahmoud who was trained in the Lebanese Army and who explained that more than 20 155-mm shells fell on Talat Al Khayat on July 5.

The United States has provided large quantities of the M-42 cluster bomb units to Israel, as well as to other foreign countries through the US Foreign Military Sales Program. The M-42 was the weapon involved in the July 1982 suspension that resulted from Israeli violations of U.S. arms laws. In that shipment, Israel was to receive 4,000 155 mm howitzer artillery shells, each filled with 64 M-42 cluster bomb grenades and 24 M-46 grenades.

Of the M-42 victims I visited, most had at least one limb amputated, as well as multiple wounds around the body. A great number of children and other passersby were attracted by the M-42s white ribbon and, thinking it a toy or treating it as a kind of souvenir, picked it up, only to be killed or maimed.

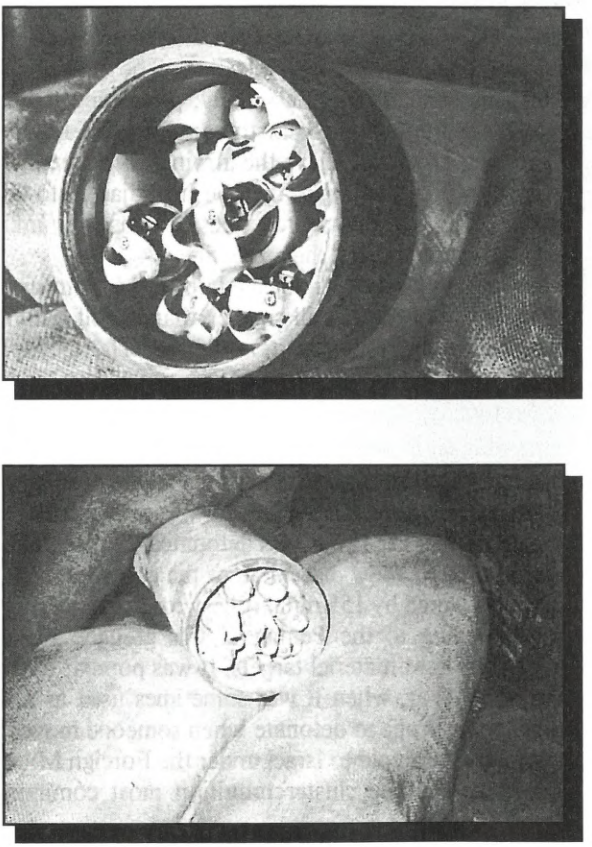


Photo: Franklin Lamb

The above photos show M-42 and M-46 cluster bomb grenades packed together in 155 mm artillery shells which hold a total of 88 each. This combination destroys both people and armor with a single unit.

M-43 HIGH-EXPLOSIVE (ANTIPERSONNEL) CLUSTER BOMB GRENADE

The second most common type of American-supplied cluster bomb used by Israel against the Lebanese and the Palestinians in Lebanon is known in Beirut as the Butterfly bomb. The official Pentagon designation is M-43 high-explosive antipersonnel grenade. It consists of a housing assembly with two spring-loaded vanes and a two-piece steel ball filled with 2.25 grams of composition-A5 high explosive. As the diagram illustrates, it is a metal triangle with metal wings that pop up when the grenade is propelled from the casing.

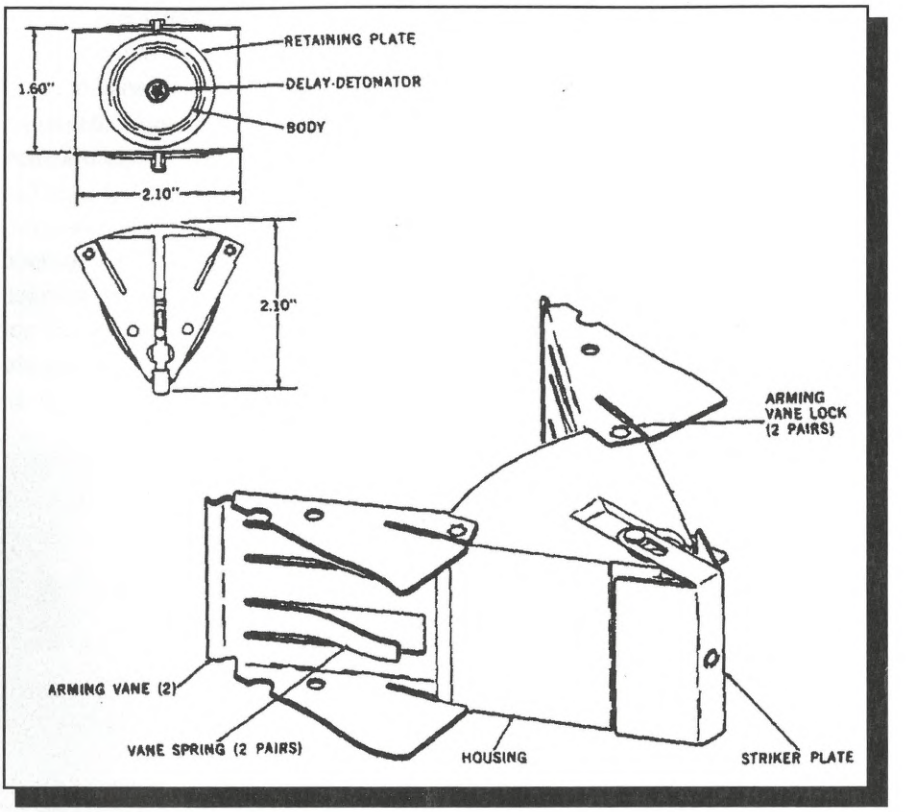
The M-43 is an airburst munition that is expelled from the projectile in flight. It arms shortly after ejection from the projectile, when the vanes open and orient the grenade in a vertical or near vertical position. The energy of the vane springs and of the airstream locks the two vanes in the open position and stabilizes the grenade. After the vanes are extended, yoke springs move the yoke to the extended position. The firing pin, attached to the yoke, retracts from the slide assembly, permitting movement of the assembly to place the detonator in the armed position. Restricting movement of the slide assembly delays the arming of the grenade by allowing air to pass through a porous slug in the housing adjacent to the slider recess. This delay helps prevent premature explosion caused by mid-air collision immediately after ejection from the projectile.

Upon impact, the explosive components are ejected upward for airburst. The body of the bomblet, a round metal ball smaller than a golf ball, is ejected from its housing by an explosive ejection charge. The ejection charge ignites a delayed detonation to allow the body to travel four to six feet above the ground before the main high explosive charge detonates. Detonating the main charge causes the prescored body to break into uniform high-velocity steel fragments that are deadly.

Different quantities of the M-43 antipersonnel grenades are dispensed from various size projectiles detonated by mechanical time fuses above the target area to allow dispersion of the grenades. In Lebanon, most grenades were delivered by 155 mm artillery rounds or eight-inch cannon shells.

According to the Pentagon, this grenade is designed for use against troops or light materiel targets. It was popular during the latter part of the Vietnam War, when it was sometimes used as a boobytrap, dropped on trees and shrubs to detonate when someone moved it. Thousands of M-43 grenades were sold to Israel under the Foreign Military Sales Program. The M-43 also is the cluster munition most commonly supplied to NATO countries.

Lebanese citizens point out that a Butterfly bomb may not explode if it lands on its side or if one of the two wings malfunctions and the grenade does not hit the striker plate on the point of its triangle. In this case, it will not explode until it is triggered. This fact may explain why so many M-43 grenades are seen scattered about Lebanon.



43E1, HE, Antipersonnel Grenade

It is my impression that, along with the M-42, Lebanese refugee camps were most often hit by the M-43. Lebanese children, often the first to discover live grenades, appeared to be most familiar with the M-43. Some Palestinian children in the Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp made a game of collecting them in the same way children in peacetime might collect real butterflies. It was this type of bomb that one child in Bourj al-Barajneh used to demonstrate his skill. He picked up a bomblet without touching its trigger and tossed it over a wall in order to explode it. Washington Post reporter Jonathan Randal photographed Butterfly bombs after many of them hit the Armenian Hospital at Aazzouniye dunng June 1982.

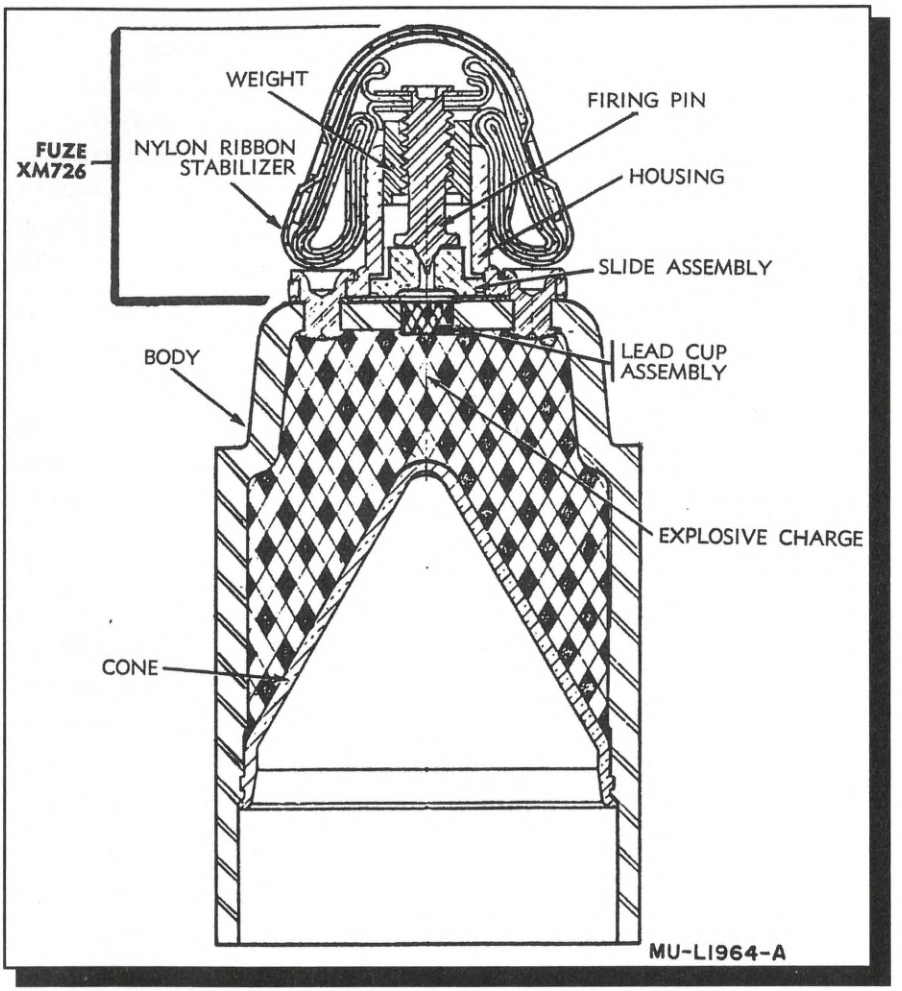
It was also the M-43 cluster bomb which exploded and killed U.S. Marine Cpl David L. Regan on September 30, 1982, while he was cleanng cluster bombs from around Beirut Airport. According to eyewitness reports given to the Pentagon, Cpl. Regan was horsing around. One report stated: He saw this object and yelled to us, 'Hey you guys, want to see a birdie?' He picked it up and was waving it and it exploded. I submit that if an American soldier, presumably well-trained in respect to cluster bombs, is enticed by the Butterfly—the shiny object, the birdie, the battery, the lighter—it is no wonder so many children and civilians in Lebanon have similarly been enticed and have died as a result.

I brought back many samples of the M-43 cluster bombs found in West Beirut between June and September 1982. As of February 1, 1984, the Multinational Forces (MNF) cleaning up ordnance in the Beirut area alone have found more than 1,000 unexploded M-43 cluster bombs. As a US marine explosive ordnance disposal officer indicated to me, the cleanup is far from complete.

M-46 HIGH-EXPLOSIVE CLUSTER BOMB GRENADE

The population of Lebanon understandably does not distinguish this cluster bomb grenade from the M-42, previously discussed. For Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, both are the battery or lighter type bomb. Indeed, the charactenstics of the M-46 are quite similar to those of the M-42.

The M-46 grenade is a ground burst munition consisting essentially of a 1.5-inch diameter cylindrical shell body loaded with approximately 30 grams of composition A5 high explosive in a shaped charge. A nylon ribbon loop stabilizer orients and arms the grenade. The inertia-type fuse has a slide assembly containing an M-55 detonator and a coil spring to force the slide into the armed position. The M-46 grenade has a smooth inner sidewall that makes the body wall stronger than the embossed wall of the M-42 grenade. For this reason the wall does not fragment as easily as the M-42 grenade wall, but has extra strength to prevent compression failure during setback.



Cross-section diagram of the M-46 Cluster bomb grenade

Upon expulsion from the projectile, the nylon ribbon stabilizer extends and orients the grenade. Rotational forces unthread the threaded firing pin from the weight (semi-armed) and pull the firing pin out of the slide assembly. The shde assembly then moves into the armed position by action of the slide sprmg

and centnfugal force. The spring maintains the slide assembly in the fully armed position.

Upon impact, the inertia weight drives the firing pin into the M-55 detonator, initiating the firing train. A shaped-charge jet is expelled down ward while the body bursts into a large number of fragments to penetrate 2.75 inches of homogeneous armor plate. Fragmentation of the grenade body can kill or cause serious injury.

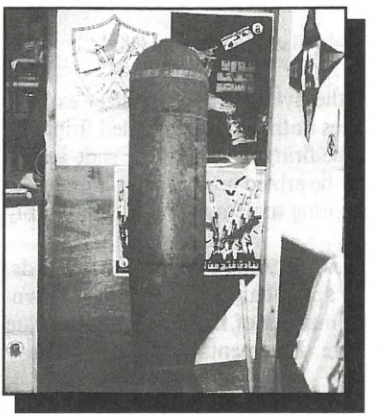
CLUSTER BOMB DISPENSERS

MK-20/MK 7 MOD AIR LAUNCHED FREE FALL DISPENSER

This dispenser, developed by Honeywell, Inc., is a cargo container for antimateriel/antipersonnel bombs, usually MK-118 Rockeyes or BLU77/B bomblets. This type of CBU dispenser was the one most commonly dropped by Israel on Lebanon and West Beirut. The writer had one cut up and brought back to the Unted States for analysis.

An M-K 339 mechanical time fuse controls the opening of the dispenser This fuse initiates a flexilinear explosive shaped charge that cuts the dispenser longitudinally to disperse the Rockeye bombs above the target. When the dispenser is released from the aircraft, four folding fins spring open to stabilize the dispenser in flight . An empty dispenser is referred to as an MK-7. When the dispenser is loaded with MK- 118 antimateriel/antipersonnel bombs the nomenclature is MK-20 Rockeye. An MK-7 dispenser can accommodate 247 MK-118 bombs, and weighs 500 pounds when loaded. MK-20 Rockeye cluster bombs were used in Vietnam starting in the mid1960s, and are a US standard service item. The MK-20 has been provided to Israel through the Foreign Military Sales Program.

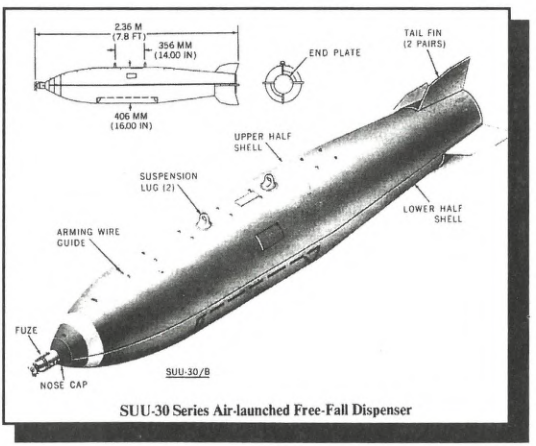
A collection of Mark 7 Mod 3 Type cluster bomb dispensers found around Beirut and Southern Lebanon as late as August 12, 1982. With the nose fuse and wings in place the dispensers measure approximately 7½ feet in length.



An older type SUU-30 series Airlaunched Free Fall Dispenser dropped-on South Lebanon by Israel in March of 1978. This type carries 650 CBU-58 (BLU 63/B) bomblets about the size of a medium sized orange.

CLUSTER BOMB DISPENSERS—THE CBU-58 - SUU

(Suspended Underwing Unit) -30 Series Air-Launched Free-Fall Dispenser.



SUU-30 Series Air-launched Free-Fall Dispenser

This dispenser, developed by Aerojet General Corporation in 1966, is a cargo container for various types of cluster bomb antipersonnel/antimateriel submunitions. This dispenser opening is controlled by various types of time fuses which cause the nose cap to eject from the dispenser, releasing the upper and lower half shell to open by air pressure to dispense the sub- munitions over a wide target area. Approximately 650 submunitions (depending upon size) can be carried in this 1/8 inch aluminum dispenser, which weighs approximately 770 pounds, is 7.8 feet long, and is the size of a single demolition bomb.

Another dispensing technique, developed in the SUU-7 series, is to eject the bomblets sequentially by compressed air in a long trail behind the aircraft, discarding the SUU dispenser when it is empty.

There are six models (variations) of the SUU-30 dispenser, including the SUU 30/B, 30A/B, 30B/B, and 30C/B. The differences are primarily the size of the tail fins, addition and location of tip plates, and provisions for different types of nose fuses. The researcher identified four different types of cluster bomb dispensers in Lebanon which are designed so that they can be interchangeable as far as possible. The SUU-30 (suspension and release unit) designation constitutes an empty dispenser. When the dispenser is loaded with munitions the designation is changed to Cluster Bomb Unit (CBU), i e, the SUU 30 dispenser loaded with BLU 63/B antipersonnel fragmentation bombs becomes the CBU-5 8/B.

The CBU-58/B itself has been in existence for a considerable time and was utilized in the Vietnam War beginning in the mid-1960s and is a US service item that has been provided to Israel through the US Foreign Military Sales Program.

155 MM ARTILLERY SHELL PROJECTILE

The 155 mm artillery shell is a separate loading type and is 35.4 inches long, weighmg 102 6 pounds empty and 874 pounds when filled with 88 cluster bomblets. According to the Naval Ordnance School at Indian Head, Maryland, the 155 mm shell can deliver cluster munitions approximately 11 miles. Consequently, Israel was able to fire them on West Beirut from the south, from East Beirut, and from their ships off the Lebanon coast.

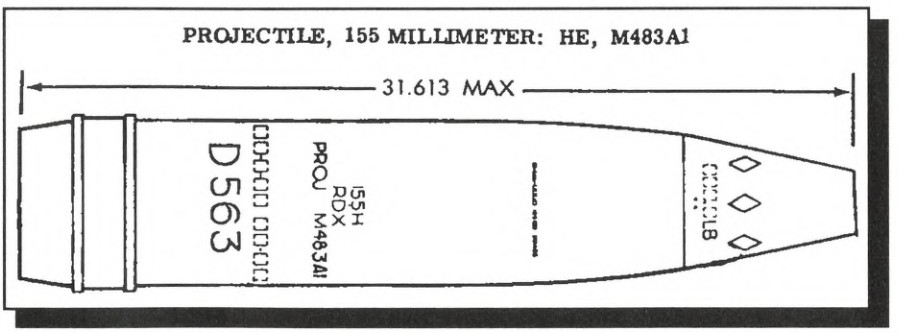
Defenders of Beirut reported that the "wildest" shelling came from the sea. = These reports are consistent with journalistic acccounts such as those of *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan Randal to the effect that Israeli off-shore shelling during its June 1982 invasion was notoriously inaccurate.

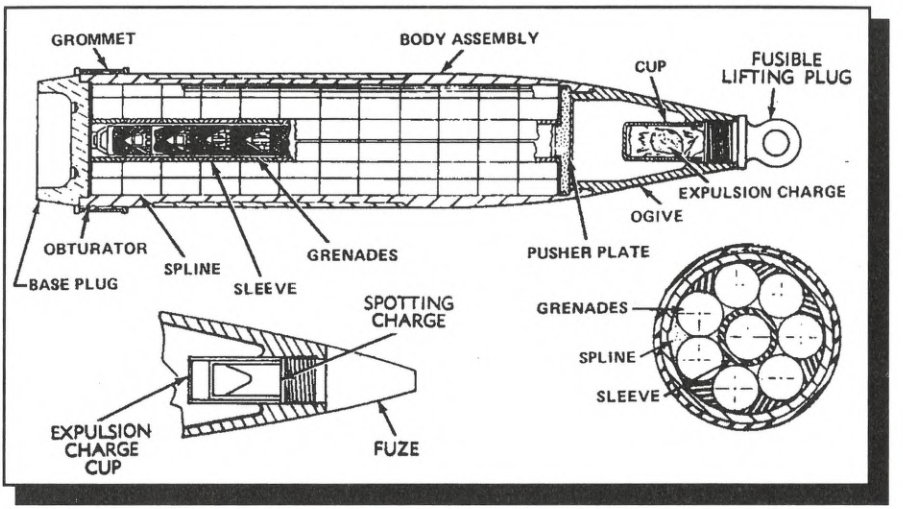
The 155 mm shell uses a fuse, a propelling charge, and a primer to deliverthe cluster bomblets. The 155 mm usually contains a total of 88 anti-personnel and antiarmor grenades, 64 M-42 and 24 M-46. The bomblets are

stacked in 11 rows of 8 each, with the first eight rows being M-42s and the last three rows being M-46s. The M-46 cluster grenades have stronger bodies to carry the load at the rear on setback when fired. The grenades are contained by a base plug with a lefthand thread screwed into the base of the shell. For normal use, an expulsion charge, contained in a cavity in the nose of the projectile, ejects the grenades This expulsion charge may be replaced by a spotting charge designed to detonate the entire projectile as if... — it were a bulk-loaded high-explosive artillery projectile.

When the primer is detonated, the flash ignites the propelling charge, producing gases that force the spin stabilized projectile out of the gun and propel it toward the target. The fuse, having been set to function at a predetermined time in flight, detonates the expulsion charge, ejecting the entire grenade load from the rest of the 155 mm shell. Centrifugal force disperses the grenades radially from the projectile line-of-flight. The M-42 and M-46 grenades are designed to explode on impact. With the alternate loading of the spotting charge instead of the expulsion charge, the fuse detonates the entire 155 mm shell over the target like a fragmentation shell except there would be thousands of higher velocity projectiles from the cluster bomblets.

A "typical" 155 mm artillery shell usually ejects approximately 3,000 fragments weighing more than 0.5 grams. By contrast a "typical" cluster bomb 155 mm projectile produces approximately 15,000 fragments weighing less than 0.5 grams. It has been estimated that a person within 45 feet from any one of the cluster bomblets carried in a 155 mm artillery round is certain to be struck by at least 5 projectiles.



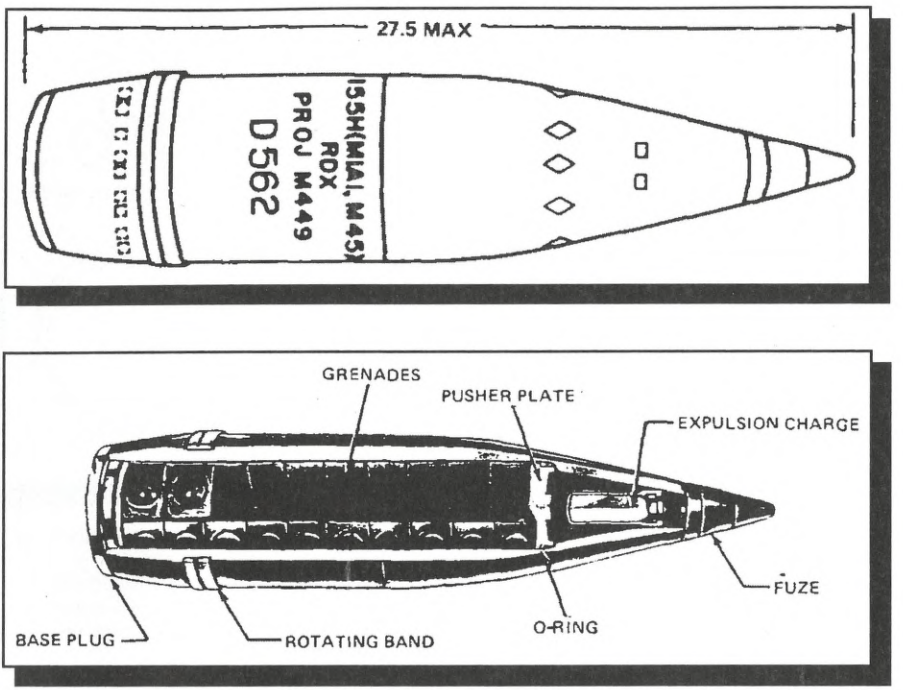


The most common means of cluster bomb delivery Israel employed during its June 1982 invasion of Lebanon for the M-42, M-46 and M-43A1 type cluster bomb grenades was the 155 mm artillery shell. Literally thousands were bred throughout Lebanon with heaiy concentration around the South Beirut area including the civilian areas at Bin Hassan, Ouzai, Jinih, Sabra, Shatilla, Bourq Bareneh and Beirut Airport areas as well as South Lebanon.

The 155mm artillery shell was the means Israel most often used to disperse M-42, M-46, and M-43 grenades during its June 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Thousands were fired throughout Lebanon, with heavy concentration around the South Beirut area, including the civilian areas at Bin Hassan, Ouzai, Jinih, Sabra, Shatila, Bourj-al-Barajneh and Beirut Airport areas as well as South Lebanon.

M-449 ARTILLERY PROJECTILE

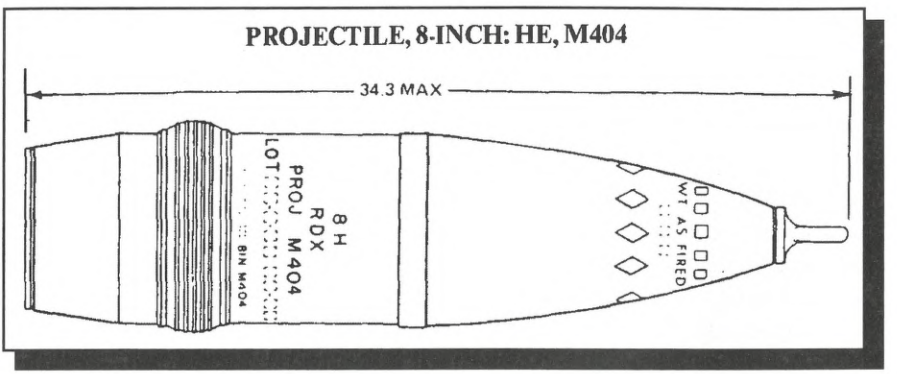
Another type of 155 mm artillery projectile used by Israel in Lebanon was the HE-M-449 series. This 155 mm artillery projectile contains ten layers of M-43 grenades with six grenades in each layer. The HE-M-449 shell functions similarly to the 155 mm M-483-A1 type discussed on the preceding page.

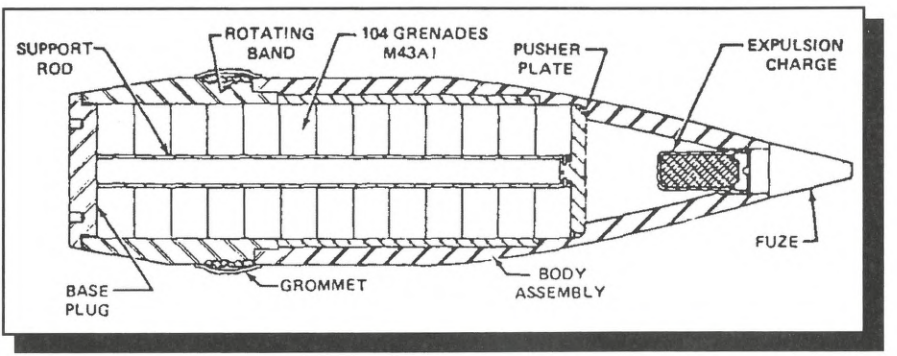


Projectile, 155 millimeter: HE, M449 series

EIGHT-INCH HIGH-EXPLOSIVE M-404

The eight-inch M-404 shell or round contains 13 layers of M-42 grenades with eight grenades in each layer. Thus, 104 M-43 Butterfly grenades, each containing 21.25 grams of composjtion-A high explosive, can be fired nearly 16 miles with devastating effect. The functioning of the 200-pound eight-inch M-404 is similar to that of the 155mm HE-M-483 artillery projectile. Centrifugal force disperses the grenades radially from the shell. On the impact, the M-43 is expelled from its housing and projected upward to explode at four to six feet above ground. The following diagram illustrates two eight-inch cannon projectiles used by Israel to supplement the 155 mm shells for firing cluster munitions.





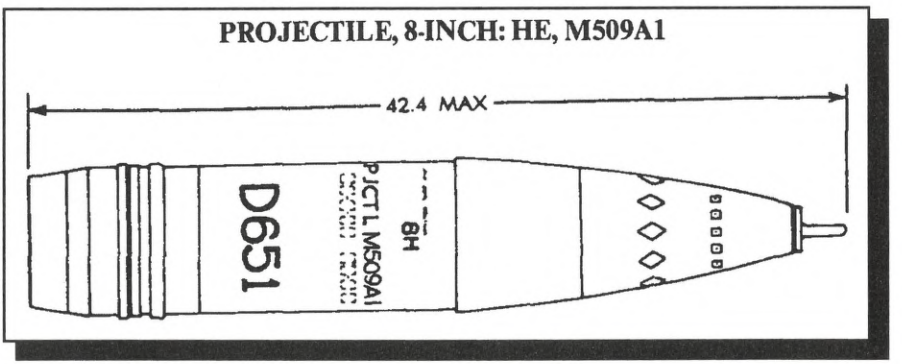
HIGH-EXPLOSIVE M-509-A-1 PROJECTILE

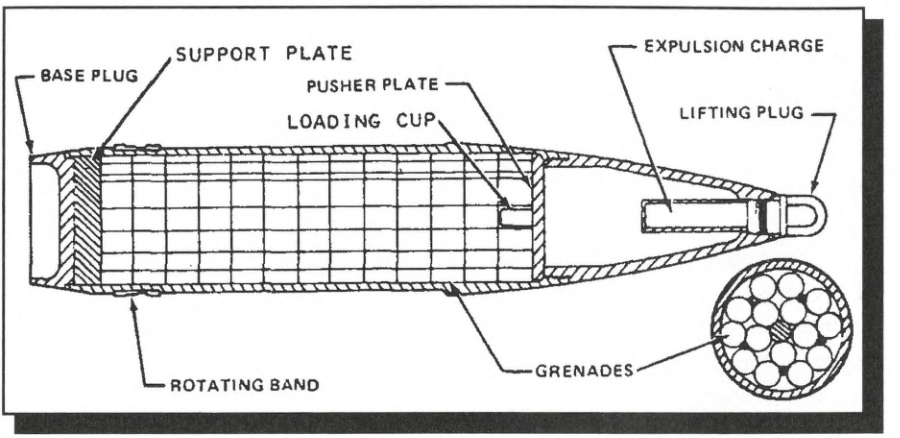
This eight-inch, 207-pound projectile usually contains 12 layers of M-42 grenades with 15 grenades in each layer for a total of 180. This projectile functions similarly to the 155 mm M-483. The fuse, having been set to function at a predetermined time in flight, detonates the expulsion charge, ejecting the M-42 grenades. They disperse radially as a result of centrifugal force. The M-42s are ground explosion cluster grenades, each containing 30.5 grams of composition-A5 high explosive that detonates on impact.

FLECHETTES

Another American high-velocity projectile weapon used by Israeli in Lebanon that is properly considered a cluster munition is called flechettes. Flechettes are small ultra-high-velocity needle-like darts or miniature arrows usually made of steel, weighing as little as from 0.5 to 1.2 grams. Flechette arrows or darts have small fins to stabilize them and can travel at speeds up to 4,500 feet per second. Some types of flechettes are made of two types of metals in order to weight the front end to increase the wounding power while others could contain a poison to infect the victim. Still others are designed to tumble upon impact or to penetrate the flesh sideways or as they are turning end over end and, as a consequence, they inflict particularly heinous wounds which are often lethal.

In an article published in The Army Times, one officer, asked about the medical difficulties of treating flechette wounds, was quoted as saying, Don't kid yourself. It is not a job for a surgeon but for graves registration.





The United States has tested flechettes under research and development programs for the past fifteen years and has developed special 90mm, 105mm, 155mm, and 175mm artillery shells to fire up to 8,000 flechettes in a single howitzer shell.

One way to fire flechettes developed for use in Vietnam is the so-called Beehive projectile which contains approximately 2,000 flechettes. Another version of the Beehive projectile contains up to 5,600 flechettes in the M-377 shell. Beehive projectiles containing flechettes range up to 155 mm. A typical 155 mm beehive shell can disperse flechettes over an area of approximately 400 yards by 120 yards. A fighter-bomber can carry several dozen flechette cluster bombs as well as other bombs. The Pentagon has stated that flechettes are primarily intended for use when an artillery battery is in danger of being overrun and, during the Vietnam war, instances were documented in which hundreds of enemy soldiers were killed in a single battle against a battery firing flechette rounds.

Like the cluster bombs discussed above, the ultra-high-velocity flechettes that travel at the speed of approximately 3,000 feet per second cause devastating wounds. Due to its long, thin shape, there is a lack of rigidity, and the flechette turns into a hook on impact with the target. It becomes totally unstable and hurl its full kinetic energy to the target, producing an explosive type wound.

Flechettes tend to buckle into a hook upon impact with flesh, and since this is a very poor ballistic shape, and since flesh is about 800 times denser than air, the buckle gyrates, and gives up its energy very rapidly, thus earning high marks as an effective projectile.
(Source: SIPRI, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Antipersonnel Weapons, pp. 105, 106.)

Reports coming out of Vietnam, including a December 14, 1967 Associated Press report and a January 2, 1968 UPI report, indicate that artillery rounds filled with flechettes were used against the Vietnamese in 105 mm howitzer shells which sprayed thousands of dart-shaped steel shafts, i.e., flechettes, over very broad areas. According to AP, one officer reported seeing enemy soldiers actually being nailed to trees by these things. In the UPI report it was stated that the flechettes were used against the Vietnam guerillas with such effect that the artillery shells exploded into hundreds of 1/2-inch darts, i.e., flechettes, that shredded the Viet Cong. Flechettes were also used in Cambodia and Laos.

There is very strong evidence that the Israeli army has used flechettes during their recent invasion of Lebanon. Several Scandinavian nurses working throughout South Lebanon have brought from the villages and refugee camps a number of flechettes which they have testified were fired by the Israeli military at various locations in South Lebanon.

Among the arms manufacturers who developed flechettes are International Harvester Company, Whirlpool Corporation, General Time Corporation Northrop Corporation, and Miller Research Corporation.

JULY, 1993: OPERATION ACCOUNTABILITY/THE SEVEN-DAY WAR

Between the summer of 1993 and before the massive Israeli assault on Lebanon of April 1996, Israel launched more than tirthy attacks in which civilian areas were targeted, leading to loss of life and injuries.

Using American weapons, including TOW missiles, 500, 1,000 and 2,000-lb bombs, 80mm and 155mm artillery rounds Israel destroyed more than 1,000 houses with more than 16,500 others being severely or lightly damaged.

In July 1993, in a military operation known in Israel as Operation Accountability and the Seven-Day War in Lebanon, more than 120 Lebanese civilians and Palestinian refugees were killed while more than 300,000 were displaced. The cost of rebuilding destroyed and damaged homes and the infrastructure in southern Lebanon was estimated by the UN and Lebanese government at $30 million.

According to UNIFIL sources, during the operation the IDF fired some 22,000 US artillery rounds and 1,000 air-to-surface rockets against villages in the south of Lebanon, in addition to shells fired at the western Bekaa. For example, on Monday, July 27, 1993 the IDF, by its own calculation, fired more than 5,000 US shells into southern Lebanon. According to statements made by Israeli leaders, the purpose of Operation Accountability was to punish Hezbollah and Palestinians directly. One Israeli colonel, making a comparison with IDF operations in the West Bank, explained, in south Lebanon, there is nothing between you and God Almighty. The only question you ask yourself when you are going to blow up someone's house is whether to use 50 kilos of dynamite or 25 kilos.
Operation Accountability was also designed to create a refugee flow in Beirut so as to pressure the central government. Throughout this assault Human Rights Watch and other human rights organizations in the US and Israel charged that IDF forces directed fire as civilians without regard to distinguishing them from combatants.

As in its other attacks on civilians, the Israeli government claims no responsibility because it warned the civilians to evacuate their homes. It is the weakest members of the population, the elderly and the poor, who were unable to flee their villages and thereby became the principal victims of the shelling operation, as is often the case.

In response to queries from human rights organizations, then-Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin explained that Israel wanted to: put pressure on the Beirut government and hit those who collaborate with Hezbollah. Gen. Yehosh Dortman, commander of the artillery corps which fired thousands of US artillery rounds at civilians in their villages, added that his job was to destroy the villages and the houses of the activists and the locations from which we think the rockets are fired.

Evidence acquired by humanitarian organizations and Lebanese civilian rescue services establish that on more than thirty occasions the IDF hindered and even attacked ambulances and the vehicles of relief organizations as well as persons attempting to flee the area. On many occasions the Lebanese Red Cross and Red Crescent and other recognized relief agencies were prevented from evacuating civilians from villages. Hospitals, ambulances and medical personnel are expressly protected in the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

The widespread use by Israel of US white phosphorus shells in civilian areas which cause severe burns and permanent scars violate international law as well as American laws which regulate Israel's use of US weapons and absolutely prohibit their use against civilians. Israel has repeatedly used these American artillery shells to burn farm lands, fields, and orchards in scores of villages in the South of Lebanon.

The US weaponry that Israel has used most extensively in violation of international and American laws are American F-19 fighter aircraft, Apache attack helicopters and artillery, including 107mm fleshettes rounds as well as an assortment of bombs. Fleshettes are antipersonnel shells containing between 10,000-15,000 1.5 inch darts which drill into the victims at high speed and then ricochet inside the body destroying flesh, muscles, and nerves to be pulverized.

The 1993 Israeli campaign, like others Israel conducted in Lebanon during the period under review, appears to have had the intension to sow terror among the civilian population. An examination of the physical damage inflicted by Israel shows that the Israeli military subjected entire villages to area bombardment and anyone who did not or could not flee became targets the same as though they were combatants.

Samplings of Hospital records during each of Israel's quarter century of attacks on Lebanon (1978-2006) show that the vast majority of the victims admitted were civilians, including a high incidence of children and older men and women.

Records from 1993 are representative and instructive:

- Hammoun Hospital, Sidon: 87 casualties, all civilians; 13 were dead upon arrival at the hospital.
- Al-Ra'I Hospital, Sidon: 43 casualties, all of them civilians.
- Labib Abu Zahr Hospital, Sidon: 36 casualties, all of them civilians.
- Hikmat al-Amin Hospital, Habboush: 66 casualties, all of them civilians.
- Jabl Amal Hospital, Tyre: 234 casualties, all were civilians except one. A Lebanese army soldier who had been traveling in a civilian car at night when his vehicle was attacked by an apache helicopter which fired a US Tow missile.

Article 51 (2) of Protocol I to the Geneva Convention states, in part: Acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited.

Public statements by Israeli officials indicate that "Operation Accountability" must have been planned carefully and those civilians were seen as a crucial strategic element of the operation. In a meeting on July 26 in which he briefed members of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, PM Rabin declared: We want Lebanese villagers to flee and we want to damage all those who were parties.

Israel's actions during "Operation Accountability" were in grave violation of international humanitarian law because it specifically targeted civilians, did not discriminate between civilians and combatants and attacked humanitarian rescue and medical personnel.

By the admission of its political and military leadership, Israel planned to drive Lebanese civilians north to Beirut in order to force the Lebanese government

to crack down on Hezbollah and to punish the villagers for allowing Hezbollah to operate in their midst.

Human Rights Watch noted that one Israel artillery gunner summed up the Israeli approach Most of the civilians are Hezbollah.

APRIL 1996: OPERATION GRAPES OF WRATH

On April 11, 1996 Israel against launched air and artillery attacks against southern Lebanon. After firing some laser guided missiles the IDF began to fire indiscriminatingly and expanded its attack to include Beirut, Nabatiyeh and fourthy villages in the South.

The next day, April 13, Israeli warships blockaded Beirut, Sidon and Tyre. An IDF spokesman announced: Anyone remaining in Tyre or these 43 villages is solely responsible for endangering his life.

By Monday, April 15, Israel extended its assault to eighty six Lebanese communities. Designed to create mass panic and to provoke a major humanitarian crisis, the effort displaced upwards of 400,000 Lebanese civilians. One Israel official told the *Wall Street Journal*, Even if you tie me up and whip me, I'm not going to admit on-the-record that our policy is to force out civilians to put pressure on the Lebanese government. But let's just say we hope Lebanon understand the message.

Also on April 15, more than 700 US artillery shells as well as thirthy US missiles and bombs poured down in a four-hour period according to the UNIFIL observers on the village of Mansouri. The shelling was random and indiscriminate with up to one hundred shells, bombs and rockets landing ever hour, according to Reuters.

On April 18, 1996, an Israel artillery barrage of more than sixty US 155mm artillery shells fired from the US made M-109 self-propelled howitzers targeted the UNIFIL post in Qana, Lebanon south of Tyre. A hundred and six civilians were killed and more than 400 wounded. Shells fell on the compound at the rate of 15-20

per minute despite UN demands to stop. According to the UN sources in Lebanon, The American shells were fitted with the U.S. M-732 radar fuses which detonate them 7 meters off the ground, the most lethal possible height, blasting fragments downwards to amputate, maim and kill.

Following this massacre, Gen. Amnon Shahak, Israel's chief of staff, announced at a Tel Aviv press conference I don't see any mistake in judgment, we fought Hizballah and when they fire on us, we will fire at them to defend ourselves... I don't know any other rules of the game, either for the army or for civilians.

Israel PM Shimon Peres added, we did not know that several hundred people were concentrated at the UN post. It came to us as a bitter surprise.

This claim is questionable given the Israeli calm that its forces can easily track the movement of individual fighters after the firing of their rockets. Since Israel had full aerial reconnaissance over south Lebanon during 'Operation Grapes of Wrath', it is difficult to imagine how more than 800 civilians trekking to a UN based went unseen.

Hours before the attack on Qana, Israeli-operated US F-16s rocketed a two-story home in Nabatiyeh al-Fowqa, killing a mother, her new-born child, six of her other children and a relative. Another house, thirty five yards away was also hit injuring four children and their parents.

Again, Israeli PM Shimon Peres announced: we never fire at buildings for no reason. We only hit at those from which Katyushas were fired...but naturally Nabatieyh was supposed to be vacant. The IDF did not claim Katyushas were fired from these houses.

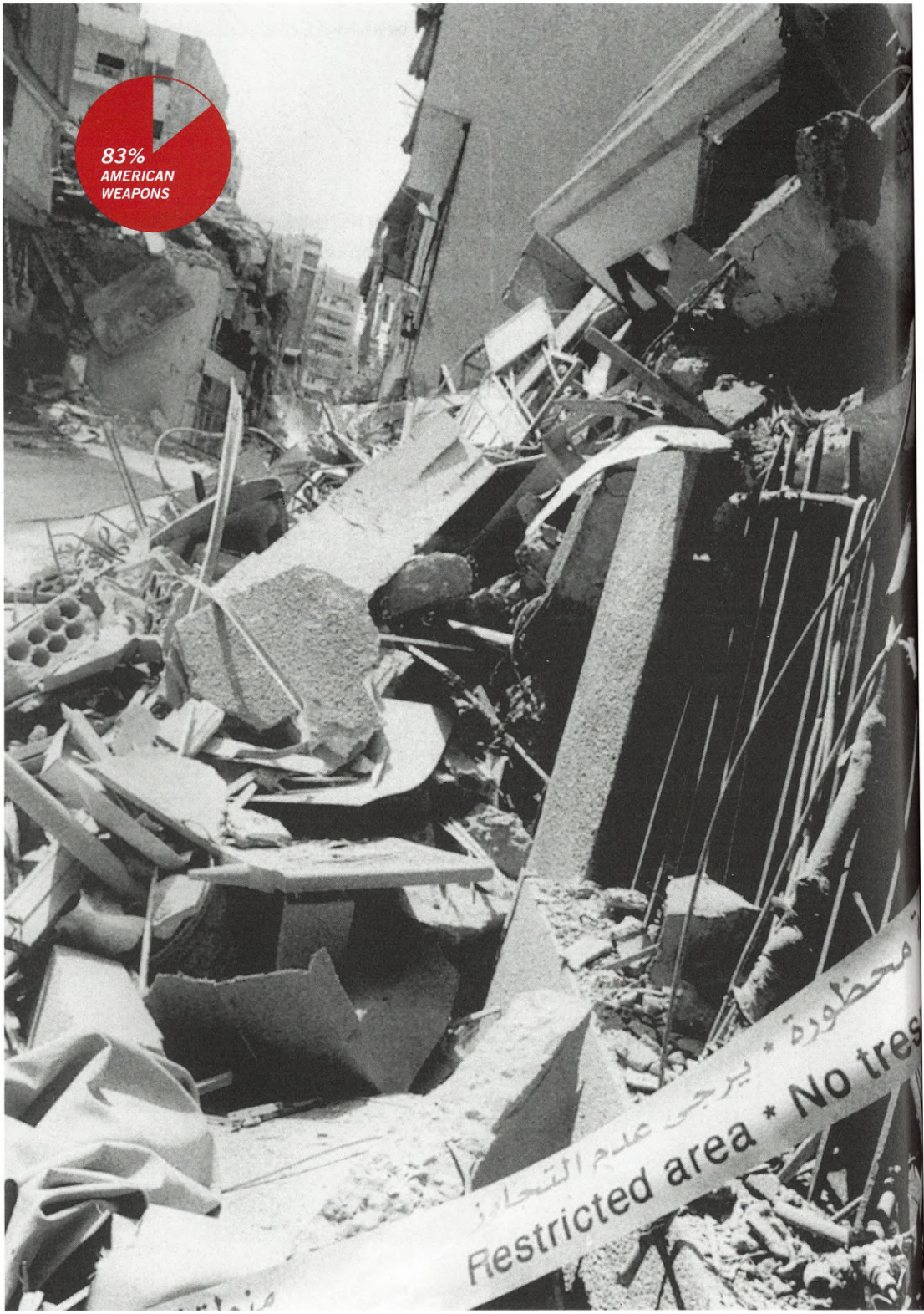
Civilians who remained in the Nabatiyeh did not forfeit the legal protection under the laws of war, and it was the duty of Israel to exercise discretion when attacking civilian houses to avoid civilian casualties excessive of the anticipated military advantage.
'Grapes of Wrath' killed nearly 150 Lebanese civilians and wounded more than 350, virtually all with American weapons.

For more than a quarter century Israel has used American cluster munitions against the civilian population of Lebanon is direct violation of American laws regulating the use of American weapons as well as violation of 'secret agreements' which tightly regulate and confine their use to 'legitimate self-defense' in non-civilian areas, and only against large invading forces in open areas such as the Sinai in the fall of 1973. For more than a quarter century, the US Congress has consistently shielded Israel from any consequences for its misuse of American weapons and its wanton killing of thousands of Lebanese civilians.

The following table, complied by Human Rights Watch, shows perhaps as few as 20% of the casualties caused by American clusters bombs used by Israel against Lebanese citizens during the period under review:

LEBANON

Confirmed Casualties 1975 – 9 October 2006				
	Total	**Strike**	**Post-Strike**	**Post-Conflict**
Grand Total	**494**	**53**	**176**	**265**
Injured	**376**	35	141	200
Killed	**118**	18	35	65
Unknown Status	**0**	0	0	0
Man	276	31	72	173
Woman	46	6	13	27
Boy	92	10	31	51
Girl	22	6	7	9
Military	15	0	10	5
Deminer	4	0	4	0
Unknown	39	0	39	0
Dominant Activities	Near house (108)/ agriculture (73)/playing (59)			
Dominant Location	Near house (108)			



Photography: Hussam Hawwa, August 2006

US WEAPONS

U.S WEAPONS USED IN 2006

AGAINST FEWER THAN 2000 MILITIA IN A 33 DAYS WAR

[MORE THAN]

U.S WEAPONS USED IN 1973

AGAINST 700 000 SOLDIERS FROM EGYPT & SYRIA IN YOM KIPPUR WAR

US CLUSTER MUNITIONS

USED IN
KUWAIT 1991
+
BALKANS 1999
+
IRAQ SINCE 2002
+
AFGHANISTAN
SINCE 2002

x 2 =

CLUSTER MUNITIONS USED IN 2006 AGAINT LEBANON

Rarely in modern history has there been such an intensive month long carpet bombing

PICTURE ON THE LEFT: DAHIYEH, BEIRUT DESTROYED BY THE ISRAELI BOMBING IN JULY 2006

Israel uses US weapons against Americans

"According to a Middle East expert with knowledge of the current thinking of both the Israelis and the US government, Israel had devised a plan for attacking Hezbollah—and shared it with Bush Administration officials well before the July 12th kidnappings...

Seymour Hersh, The New Yorker Magazine, 8/14/06

THE ATTACK ON THE USS LIBERTY

Those who pay for US weapons to Israel are by no means immune from Israel's use of them. During the past quarter century American citizens have been killed and wounded by American weapons used by Israel. The single largest number was the killing of thirty four Americans and the wounding of 137 in an Israeli 'Act of War' on June 8th, 1967. The USS Liberty was an unarmed American navy ship sailing in the Mediterranean that was attacked for two hours by Israeli planes and torpedo boats on June 8, 1967. Israel thwarted attempts to rescue the ship and its crew. Attacking Israeli aircraft, supplied by the United States, jammed all five American emergency radio channels. Israeli torpedo boats then machine-gunned at close range the life rafts that had been lowered to rescue the most-seriously wounded sailors and marines.

Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Thomas Moorer, stated on October 22, 2003: The men of the USS Liberty were representing the US .They were attacked for over 2 hours by Israel Air Force and Navy units with 70%

American casualties and the eventual loss of our best intelligence ship. Moorer continued, under pressure from the Israel lobby, President Johnson and Defense Secretary McNamara orchestrated a cover-up. Congress has never investigated the recall by the White House of US Navy aircraft sent to rescue the Liberty while the ship was still under attack. The White House cancellation of the Navy's attempt to rescue the Liberty is the most disgraceful thing I have witnessed in my entire military career....The American people and our elected officers will need to overcome their fear of the pro-Israel lobby in the United States.

Captain Ward Boston, Counsel to the original 1967 US Navy Court of Inquiry's investigation into the Israeli attack on the USS Liberty, stated the attack was deliberate but that the Court was ordered to cover it up by the Johnson White House.... It is important for the American people to know that it is clear that Israel is responsible for deliberately attacking an American ship and murdering American sailors.

At the time there was speculation that Israel acted to prevent the US from learing about a massacre of unarmed Egyptians in the Sinal. Israel denied that charge as a blood libel.

Lending validity to the Egyptian charges is a report from the US National Security Agency concerning the reason for Israel's attack on the USS Liberty on June 8, 1967, which James Bamford describes in his book, «Body of Secrets.» What Bamford found in the NSA archives was that the Israeli military was worried that the Liberty which was monitoring Israeli radio traffic would learn of the massacre of 250 Egyptian Prisoners of War by Israelis and to prevent that happening, the ship had to be attacked and destroyed. What happened was clearly a war crime and that Israel got away with it and with the attack on the Liberty in which 34 US sailors were murdered and 171 wounded was, in the view of Middle East analsyst Jeffrey Blackfort, the defining moment in the sordid history of US-Israel relations.

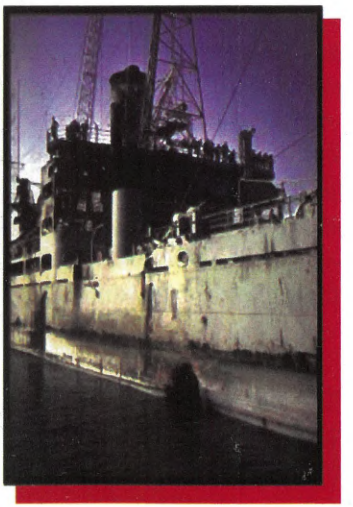
THE USS LIBERTY ATTACK RECALLED

Then, inexplicably, at 2 p.m., unmarked Israeli aircraft began attacking the ship.

Israel attacked the USS Liberty using Unmarked Aircraft. This is the single fact which proves Israel knew exactly who they were attacking. Israel's story is that they thought USS Liberty was an Egyptian ship and therefore a legitimate target of war. Were that true, there would be no reason to attack a supposedly Egyptian ship with unmarked aircraft. The only possible reason to use unmarked aircraft to attack the ship is that Israel knew it was an American ship and intended to sink it, then to blame the attack on Egypt.

Captain Ward Boston, who as top legal council to the official investigation is in a position to know, agrees that Israel intended to sink the USS Liberty and blame Egypt for it, thus dragging the United States into a war on Israel's behalf. This seems to be a common trick of Israel. Starting with the Lavon affair, through the USS Liberty, to the fake radio transmitter that tricked Reagan into attacking Libya. Israel's game is to frame Arabs and set them up as targets for the United States.

The official US investigation is discredited. And with it, every claim of innocence for Israel that relied on the official investigation as a source. Accord to Boston, the real question facing the American people is why the US Government, especially Congress, seems more concerned with protecting Israel after they are caught killing Americans rather than doing something to convince Israel not to kill any more Americans.



Torpedo hole fired by Israel into the USS Liberty June 6,1967. Israel still refuses to open its files to the American media or the US government.

USING US WEAPONS, ISRAEL ATTEMPTED TO ASSASSINATE AMBASSADOR TO LEBANON JOHN GUNTHER DEAN ON AUGUST 27, 1980

John Gunther Dean's service in Lebanon was the turbulent years 1978-81. Dean was one of the most effective US ambassadors to work in Lebanon. Despite the civil war he traveled widely up and down Lebanon and developed good relations with the various confessions.

As far as Israel was concerned, Dean made two errors which could not stand. He urged Bashir Gemeyal, Leader of the main Christian militia, to be wary of too close an alliance with Israel because in the long run it would be harmful. Dean also urged Gemayel to stop hanging around with Israeli Mossad officers. Secondly, Dean sought and obtained authorization to have contact with the Palestine liberation Organization if it was deemed to be in America's national security interests. Dean asked for and received Palestinian help with the Iranian hostage crisis, and Yasser Arafat and his aide Abu Jihad personally went to Tehran in 1979 and secured the release of thirteen Americans. Dean later noted that the two never received any thanks form Washington for their efforts.

Israel could not accept American officials having any contact with the PLO. During the evening of August 27, 1980 Israel attempted the assassination of Ambassador Dean with American weapons. Former US Ambassador to Qatar, Andrew I. Killgore, a friend of Dean and a scholar, wrote in the November 2002 issue of the authoritative *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs,* explaining what happened:

En route from his residence in Lebanon's hills to the Beirut residence of the American University of Beirut, president, Dean's limousine and convoy took 21 rifle bullets. The automobile bearing the ambassador and Mrs. Dean was also struck by two light anti-tank weapons. The shot-out tires on the Deans' bulletproof car automatically reinflated. The second car, however, carrying their daughter and her fiancé, did not have bulletproof tires and was momentarily stranded until the security guards in the convoy's third car pushed the couple into the Deans' vehicle. The assassination attempt failed. Security officials learned that the weapons used to try to kill Dean had been shipped to Israel in 1974'.

ISRAEL'S HARASSMENT OF US TROOPS IN LEBANON: 1982-84

On March 14, 1983 the commandant of the Marine Corps, General R.H. Barrow, sent a letter to the Secretary of Defense expressing frustration and anger at Israel for deliberately threatening the lives of US Marines serving as peacekeepers in Lebanon. Numerous incidents of Israeli harassment and endangerment of American troops have been summarized by the superb Middle East historian and former *Time* Magazine Bureau Chief Donald Neff, writing in the March 1995 issue of *Washington Report*. Neff documents a series of near-miss shootings and mock attacks carried out during the period when US forces were trying to keep the peace in Lebanon and avoid clashes with various militias. These Israeli incidents were carried out with American weapons including vehicles, tanks, helicopters and light arms but they did not lead Congress to hesitate as it voted extra aid to Israel to replenish US weapons it used against Lebanon during its June 1982 invasion and occupation.

MORE KILLINGS WITH US SUPPLIED WEAPONS:

On March 29, 2002, in Ramallah, Israeli forces killed a young American mother as she held her baby.

On April 5, 2003 an Israeli sniper shot twenty one year old American Brian Avery in the face and four days later shot a British youth Tom Hurndall who died of his wounds on January 13, 2004. Countless attack against International Solidarity Movement volunteers have been done with American weapons.

No less a weapon than a bullet or bomb has been Israel's use of US Caterpillar Bulldozers to demolish homes, buildings, orchards and farmland. On March 16, 2003 an Israeli soldier using an American-funded bulldozer two stories high ran over and killed twenty three year-old Rachel Corrie, an American nonviolent human rights volunteer.

Dozens of Americans have been injured by US weapons in Israeli hands while going about their daily lives in Palestine and Lebanon or while engaged in nonviolent protests against Israel's brutal occupation.

Rachel Corrie...we won't forget you

DEPLEATED URANUIM USED IN LEBANON?

INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION CONTINUES

Bombs hardened with DU are used to penetrate thick concrete and metal. It is suspected to be used in Beirut southern suburb, Qana, Srifa and Aita Ech Chaab.
In July 2006 U.S rushed 100 GBU 28 Bunker Buster bombs to israel with DU wearheads capable of penatrating into the ground up to 130 feet deep before exploding.
The use of DU in Civilian areas violates the Geneva and Hague Conventions, and the U.S military law.

100%
OF ISRAEL'S DU BOMBS AND PROJECTILES ARE AMERICAN

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: BUILDINGS DESTROYED IN DAHYIEH, BEIRUT, AN AREA WHERE THE USE OF DEPLEATED URANUIM IS SUPSPECTED, JULY 2006

Photography: Caroline Dagher, September 2006

Timeline: Israel's Use of American Weapons Against Civilians in Lebanon, JULY 12 - AUGUST 14, 2006

"According to the commander, in order to compensate for the rockets' imprecision, the order was to "flood" the area with them. "We have no option of striking an isolated target, and the commanders know this very well," he said. He also stated that the reserve soldiers were surprised by the use of MLRS rockets, because during their regular army service, they were told these are the IDF's "judgment day weapons" and intended for use in a full-scale war.

IDF commander, quoted in Haaretz 9/13/06

The evidence gathered from events on the ground in Lebanon during Israel's July-August 2006 thirthy-four day attack and occupation makes plain that when Hezbollah captured two IDF soldiers, it did so in order to negotiate a prisoner exchange. This sort of tactic had been used by Israel, the PLO and Hezbollah since the 1980s.

Israel and the Bush administration, as pointed out by New Yorker investigative reporter Seymour Hersh, appear to have already been preparing another invasion of Lebanon for early fall, 2006, as a sort of test case for Iran. This thesis partly accounts for Israel's massive and sustained destruction of much of Lebanon in that it sought to eliminate Hezbollah so it might have a clear field against Iran.

Israel's goals, given, what Noam Chomsky called a green light from the Bush administration, were to destroy Hezbollah and its arsenals, reignite a Lebanese civil war and to provoke, draw in, and then degrade Syria and Iran. Israel also sought to undercut support for the Lebanese Resistance in the Christian, Sunni and Druze communities, an effort it had been attempting since its 2000 with drawal from southern Lebanon.

From the beginning of its invasion, Israel was intent on making Lebanon pay, as Israel Chief of Staff Halutz promised. One is reminded of Ehud Olmerts late August comment in the Knesset, made in an effort to keep his job: We destroyed half of Lebanon, how can that not be a victory?

The following timeline is based on interviews and conversations with eyewitnesses, victims, and military analysts from more than 40 villages in the south of Lebanon. American congressional and military sources provided insights and specific information. These discussions elucidated Israel's disproportionate, indiscriminate, malicious and calculated bombardment of Lebanon's civilian population.

The Timeline highlights Israel's daily use of American weapons. They comprise more than 83% of Israel's arsenal and without them and Bush Administration political cover; Israel could not have caused such destruction to Lebanon.

JULY 12 (DAY 1)

- According to United Nations SC Reports, during the seventeen month period prior to July 12, 2006, Israel violated the Blue Line 1606 times-more than three times per day, on average—via air, sea and land operations. During this same period, Hezbollah violated the Blue Line a total of 9 times.
- Prior to July 12, 2006, in order to effect a prisoner exchange Hezbollah planned the capture of Israeli soldiers along the blue line. It immediately announced its readiness for a prisoner exchange. It takes no further military action until attacked by Israeli forces.
- Shortly after 9 a.m. two Israeli Humvees passed within yards of a Hezbollah ambush point. It was a hollow carved in the underbrush near the track used by Israeli military patrols. Coordinated attacks by the Lebanese resistance knocked out surveillance cameras.
- The Hezbollah team fired anti-tank rockets at the trailing Humvee, killing the soldiers inside. It took twenty minutes to confirm that Goldwasser and Regev were missing from the first Humvee.
- IDF Col. Ishai Efroni sent a Merkava tank, an armored personnel carrier

and a helicopter in pursuit. The tank hit a mine killing the four soldiers inside. The fight to retrieve the bodies lasted hours and killed the eighth Israeli soldier.

- Hezbollah immediately announced its readiness for a prisoner exchange. It took no further military action until attacked by Israeli forces.
- Israel launched air strikes and sent ground troops into Lebanon. Lt. Get Dan Halutz declared that we will turn Lebanon's clock back 20 years. PM Olmert described the capture of the two soldiers as an act of War.
- Russia, France, Britain, and Italy denounced disproportionate use of force by Israel. The Bush administration defended Israel and blamed "terrorists who want to stop the advance of peace."
- The US Senate unanimously supported Israel's right to self defense while the House voted 430 to 8 to commend Israel's exercise of great restraint to avoid civilian casualties.

JULY 13 (DAY 2)

- Israel announced an air and sea blockade of Lebanon.
- Israel used US 500 lb bombs to attack Beirut's Rafic Hariri International Airport. Two runways are crippled. Israel used the same American weapons to attack Rayak Air Base in the Bekaa Valley near the Syrian border and the military airport in Qulayaat in northern Lebanon.
- Al Jazeera reported that Israel's bombing killed fourthy Lebanese civilians.
- Israeli gun ships bombarded Jiyyeh's electric power station 25km south of Beirut, using 155mm artillery shells and an Apache attack helicopter firing two Tow missiles. Two American 500 lb bombs we are also used. Between 15,000 and 30,000 lbs of fuel oil polluted the Lebanese and Syrian coast.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

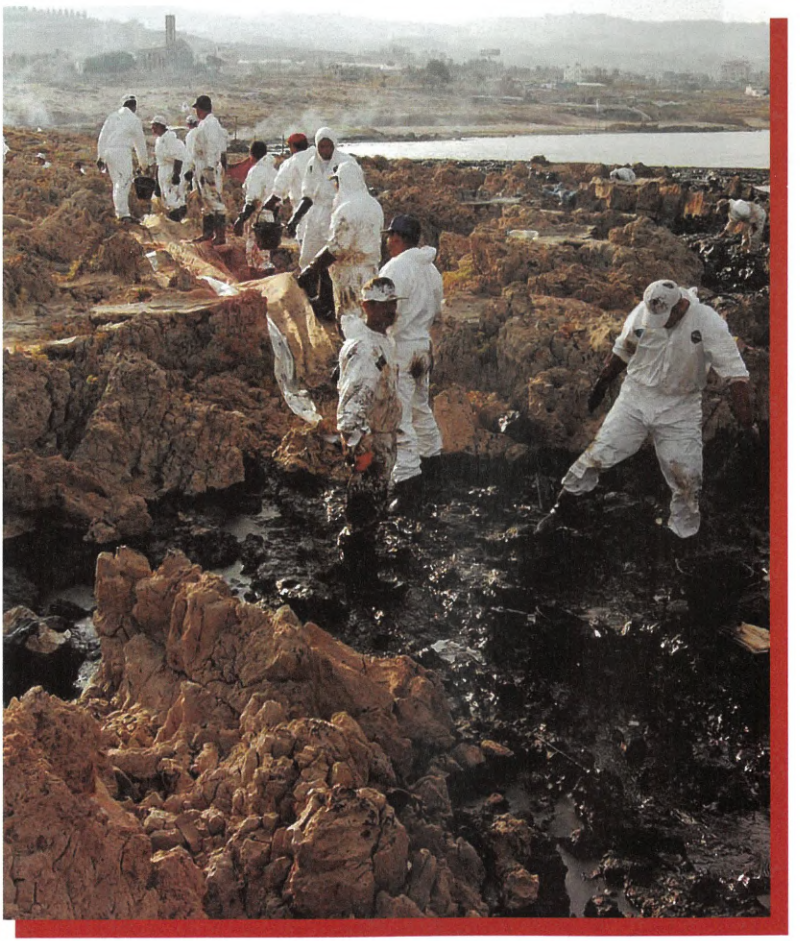
JULY 14 (DAY 3)

- Israel declared open war.
- Israel's military intelligence branch presented a report to Israeli officials that questioned the war plan's ability to achieve the government's goals. According to senior officials who read it, the analysis concluded that the heavy bombing campaign and small ground offensive then underway would neither win the release of the two Israeli soldiers in Hezbollah's hands nor reduce the militia's rocket attacks on Israel to fewer than 100 a day.
- Israel bombed Beirut's main airport and the roads leading to it from the south of the capital.
- Israel ysed US 1,000-lb bombs and US Tow missiles to bomb the main highway between Beirut and the Syrian capital of Damascus.
- Israel attacked the al-Manar TV station in Al Dahiya, Beirut but the station continues its broadcasts.
- Israeli warships tightened the naval blockade, preventing cruise ships from docking in Beirut and cutting off the delivery of fuel used to operate Lebanese power plants.
- Israel used US MK-84 GPS 2,000-lb, 1,000-lb, and 500-lb. bombs as well as 155mm artillery shells and M-26, M-42, CBU-58 containing bomb Live Units (BLU) 63 submunitions on scores of targets in Lebanon.
- Israel used US Apache helicopters to further bomb the runways and

fuel tanks at Beirut airport which burned for two days. Using US 155mm artillery shells and TOW missiles, Israel again bombed the Jiyeh Power Station causing a massive oil spill..

▪ The UN Security Council in emergency meeting called for an end to the Israeli operation, saying it was cause the death of innocent civilians.

Nearly seven months after Israel bombed Lebanese oil storage tanks at Jiyyeh in July of 2006, the waters are still spitting out black poison despite efforts to clean up the mess. Many beaches like Jiyyeh and Ramlet al-Baida continue to fight the pollution. «The rain and the low tide have created new pollution zones,» said Ahmad Kojok of the Bahr Lubnan association. Greenpeace has described the spill, which polluted about 150 kilometers of the Lebanese coast, as an «underwater nightmare» and a «time bomb» because oil had sunk to the seabed. The environmental group has estimated it will take at least a year to clean.



JULY 15 (DAY 4)

- Israeli warships bombarded Beirut's lighthouse and four Lebanese ports of Tripoli, Jounieh, (check) with US missiles and 155mm artillery shells.

Dahiyeh July 12, 2006

Dahiyeh August 1, 2006

- Israel, using US 500-lb and 1,000-lb bombs raided Lebanon's north coast and southern Lebanon killing fifteen people and wounding thirty seven. Israel used US 155mm artillery shells filled with cluster bombs, as well as US air to ground missiles.
- Lebanon's main commercial ports of Beirut and Tripoli were bombed as were the ports in the Christian towns of Jounieh and Amsheet.
- A Lebanese soldier was killed when an army radar station is hit with a TOW missile in Batroun north of Beirut.
- Israel attacked southern Beirut neighborhoods with various US bombs, missiles, including the MK-84 GPS, 155 mm artillery shells and US 1,000-lb bombs.
- Israel attacked the Jiyyeh power station, this time with a US 1,000-lb bomb.
- Al Jazeera reported that eighteen Lebanese civilians, including fifteen children, die when a US Tow missile hits their van near Marwahin.

US 155mm 43A1 cluster bomb artillery shell containing 88 M-42 cluster bombs found at Marwahin on July 15, 2006 by Lebanese citizens. As of December 28, 2006 it was still in the same place as discovered. The clean up process in the South is slow.

- A US official who observed the war closely reported that the Israeli offensive degraded perhaps only 7% of the Hezbollah fighters or arsenal during the first three days of fighting and added that Israeli air attacks on the Hezbollah leadership were absolutely futile.
- One US congressional military analyst noted, Israel lost the war in the first three days. If you have that kind of surprise and you have that kind of US firepower, you had better win. Otherwise you're in for the long haul.
- Arab League Secretary General Amr Moussa said the Middle East peace process is dead and called on the UN Security Council to tackle the crisis.
- Speaking ahead of the G8 meeting in St. Petersburg, US President Bush blamed Hezbollah for the crisis and urged Syria to put pressure on the militants.
- Russian President Vladimir Putin, was more critical of Israel's massive bombing, saying that the use of force should be balanced.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

US 155 mm artillery rounds being fired into Lebanon on 7/15/06

MARWAHIN: JULY 15, 2006 'THE ANATOMY OF A MASSACRE'

A special Timeline Report by Robert Fisk

In antiquity, Pliny wrote of the cliffs of Bayada. The chalk runs down to the Mediterranean in an almost Dover-like cascade of white rock, and the view from the top-just below the little Lebanese village of Chama'a-is breathtaking. To the south lies the United Nations headquarters and the Israeli frontier, to the north the city of Tire, its long promontory, built by Alexander the Great, lunging out into the green-blue sea. A winding, poorly-made road runs down to the shore below Chama'a and for some reason-perhaps because he had caught sight of the Israeli warship off the coast-58-year-old Ali Kemal Abdullah took a right turn above the Mediterranean on the morning of 15 July. In the open-topped pick-up behind him, Ali had packed 27 Lebanese refugees, most of them children. Twenty-three of them were to die within the next 15 minutes.

The tragedy of these poor young people and of their desperate attempts to survive their repeated machine-gunning from the air is as well-known in Lebanon as it is already forgotten abroad. War crimes are easy to talk about when they have been committed in Rwanda or Bosnia; less so in Lebanon, especially when the Israelis are involved. But all the evidence suggests that what happened on this blissfully lovely coastline two and a half months ago was a crime against humanity, one that is impossible to justify on any military grounds since the dead and wounded were fleeing their homes on the express orders of the Israelis themselves.

Mohamed Abdullah understands the reality of that terrible morning because his 52-year-old wife Zahra, his sons Hadi, aged six, and 15-year-old Wissam, and his daughters, Marwa, aged 10, and 13-year old Myrna, were in the pick-up. Zahra was to die. So was Hadi and the beautiful little girl Myrna whose photograph-with immensely intelligent, appealing eyes-now haunts the streets of Marwahin. Wissam, a vein in his leg cut open by an Israeli missile as he vainly tried to save Myrna>s life, sits next to his father as he talks to me outside their Beirut house, its walls drenched in black cloth.

From the day of the attack until now, lots of delegations have come to see us, Mohamed says. They all talk and it is all for nothing. My problem is with a huge nation. Can the international community get me my rights? I am a weak person, unprotected. I am a 53-year-old man and I>ve been working as a soldier for 29 years, day and night, to be productive and to support a family that can serve society and that can be a force for good in this country. I was able to build a home in my village for my wife and children-with no help from anyone-and I did this in 2000, 23 years after I was driven out of Marwahin and I finished our new home this year. And here Mohamed Abdullah stops speaking and cries.

Marwahin is one of a string of villages opposite the Israeli border and, unlike many others further north, is inhabited by Sunni Muslim Lebanese, followers of the assassinated former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri rather than the Shiite-dominated Hizbollah militia, which is supported and supplied by Syria and Iran. Most Sunnis blame Syria for Hariri>s murder on 14 February last year.

While no friends of Israel, the Sunni community in Lebanon-especially

the few thousand Sunnis of Marwahin who are so close to the frontier that they can see the red roofs of the nearest Jewish settlement-are no threat to Israel. For generations, they have intermarried-which is why most of the people in this tragedy hold the family name of al-Abdullah or Ghanem-and, had their parents been born a few hundred metres further south, they would-like the Sunni Muslim Palestinians who lived there until 1948-have fled to the refugee camps of Lebanon when Israel was created.

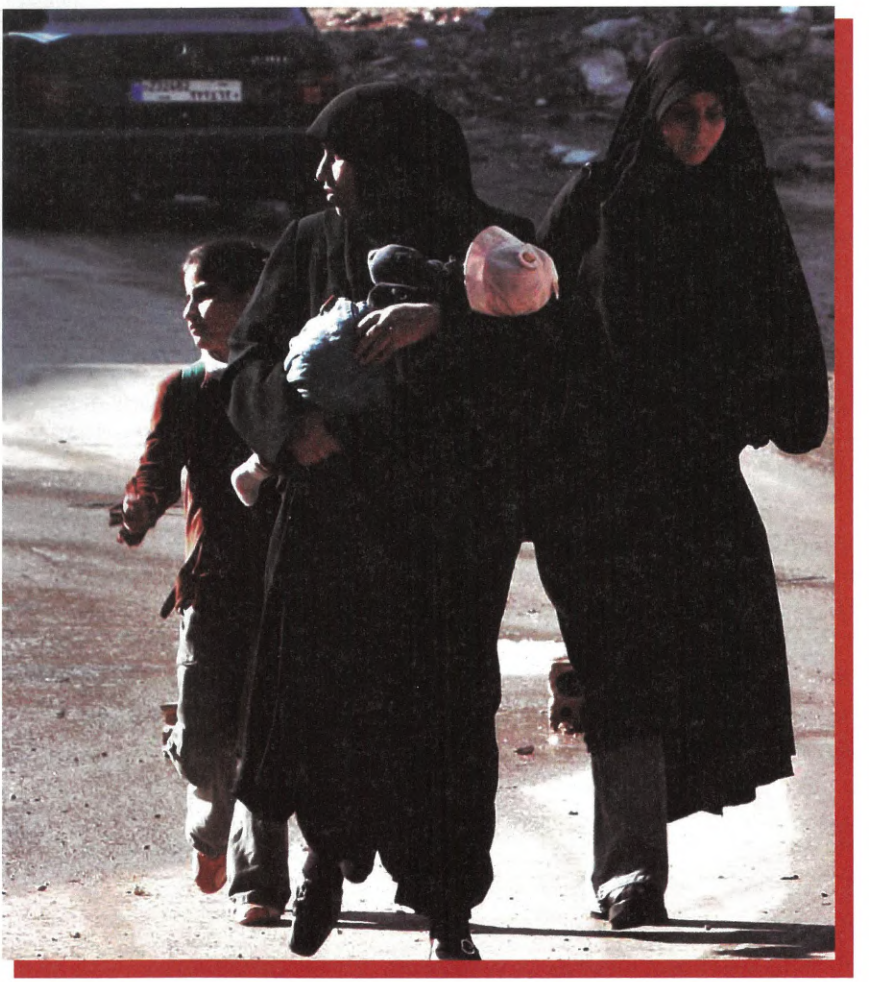
Mohamed recalls with immense tiredness how his wife took his children south from Beirut to their family home in Marwahin on 9 July this year. The date is important because just three days later, Hizbollah members would cross the Israeli border, capture two Israeli soldiers and kill three others-five more were to die in a minefield later the same day-and Israel would respond with 34 days of air-strikes and bombardments that killed more than 1,000 Lebanese civilians. Hizbollah missiles would kill fewer than 200 Israelis, most of them soldiers.

Just down the hill from Marwahin, on Israeli territory, stands a tall radio transmission tower and on the morning of 15 July, the Israelis used loudspeakers on the tower to order the villagers to flee their homes. Survivors describe how they visited two nearby UN posts to appeal for protection, one manned by four members of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization-set up after the 1948 war with Israel-and the other by Ghanaian soldiers of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, the same army which, much expanded with French, Italian, Turkish and Chinese troops, is now supposed to police the latest ceasefire in southern Lebanon. Both the UNTSO men and the Ghanaians read the rule-book at the villagers of Marwahin. Ever since the Israelis attacked the UNIFIL barracks at Qana in 1996, slaughtering 106 Lebanese refugees-again, most of them children-the UN has been under orders not to allow civilians into their bases. The UN, it seems, can talk mightily of the need to protect the innocent, but will do precious little to shield them in southern Lebanon.

Mohamed's four children had traveled south with their mother to buy furniture for their newly-built home; their father and his six other children in Beirut were to join them the following week.

When the Israeli soldiers were taken, the airport closed down and all the

roads became dangerous, Mohamed says. But the mobile phones still worked and I had constant conversations with my wife. I asked her what was happening in the village. She said the Israelis were bombing in the fields around the village but not in the village itself. She had no car and anyway it was too dangerous to travel on the roads. On 13 and 14 July, we spoke six or seven times. She was asking about those of our children who were with me. You see, she had heard that Beirut had been bombed so we were worried about each other.



Marwahin

Mohamed's cavalry began when he turned to the Arabia television station on the morning of the 15th. I heard that the people of Marwahin had been ordered by the Israelis to leave their homes within two hours. I tried to call my wife and children but I couldn't get through. Then after half an hour, Zahra called me to say she was in the neighboring village of Um Mtut and that people had gone to the UN to seek help and been turned away.

Mohamed insists-though other villagers do not agree with this-that while the UN was turning the civilians away, a van drove into Marwahin containing missiles. The driver was a member of Hizbollah, he says, and its registration number was 171364 (Lebanese registrations have no letters). If this is true, it clearly created a crisis-to use Mohamed al-Abdullah's word-in the village. Certainly, once the ceasefire came into place 32 days later, there was a damaged van beside

the equally damaged village mosque with a missile standing next to it. Human rights investigators are unclear of the date of the van's arrival but seem certain that it was attacked by the Israelis-probably by an air-fired rocket-after Marwahin was evacuated.

In her last conversation with her husband, Zahra told Mohamed that the four children were having breakfast in a neighbor's house in Um Mtut. I told her to stay with these people, Mohamed recalls. I said that if all the civilians were together, they would be protected. My brother-in-law, Ali Kemal al-Abdullah, had a small pick-up and they could travel in this. First to leave Marwahin was a car driven by Ahmed Kassem who took his children with him and promised to telephone from Tyre if he reached the city safely. He called a couple of hours later to say the road was OK and that he had reached Tyre. That's when Ali put his children and my children and his own grandchildren in the pick-up. There were 27 people, almost 20 of them children.

Ali Kemal drove north from Marwahin, away from the Israeli border, then west towards the sea. He must have seen the Israeli warship and the Israeli naval crew certainly saw Ali's pick-up. The Israelis had been firing at all vehicles on the roads of southern Lebanon for three days-they hit dozens of civilian cars as well as ambulances and never once explained their actions except to claim that they were shooting at terrorists. At a corner of the road, where it descends to the sea, Ali Kemal suddenly realized his vehicle was overheating and he pulled to a halt. This was a dangerous place to break down. For seven minutes, he tried to restart the pick-up.

According to Mohamed's son Wissam, Ali-whose elderly mother Sabaha was sitting beside him in the front-turned to the children with the words: Get out, all you children get out and the Israelis will realize we are civilians. The first two or three children had managed to climb out the back when the Israeli warship fired a shell that exploded in the cab of the pick-up, killing Ali and Sabaha instantly. I had almost been able to jump from the vehicle-my mother had told me to jump before the ship hit us, Wissam says. But the pressure of the explosion blew me out when I had only one leg over the railing and I was wounded. There was blood everywhere.

Within a few seconds, Wissam says, an Israeli Apache helicopter arrived over the vehicle, very low and hovering just above the children. I saw Myrna still in the pick-up and she was crying and pleading for help. I went to get her and that's when the helicopter hit us. Its missile hit the back of the vehicle where all the children were and I couldn't hear anything because the blast had damaged my ears. Then the helicopter fired a rocket into the car behind the pick-up. But the pilot must have seen what he was doing. He could see we were mostly children. The pick-up didn't have a roof. All the children were crammed in the back and clearly visible.

Wissam talks slowly but without tears as he describes what happened next. I lost sight of Myrna. I just couldn't see her any more for the dust flying around. Then the helicopter came back and started firing its guns at the children, at any of them who moved. I ran away behind a tel [a small hill] and lay there and pretended to be dead because I knew the pilot would kill me if I moved. Some of the children were in bits.

Wissam is correct about the mutilations. Hadi was burned to death in Zahra's arms. She died clutching his body to her. Two small girls-Fatmi and Zainab Ghanem-were blasted into such small body parts that they were buried together in the same grave after the war was over. Other children lay wounded by the initial shell burst and rocket explosions as the helicopter attacked them again. Only four survived, Wissam and his sister Marwa among them, hearing the sound of bullets as they played dead amid the corpses.

His father Mohamed heard on the radio that a pick-up had been attacked by the Israelis at Bayada, perhaps 10km from Marwahin. When I heard that the driver was Ali Kemal al-Abdullah, I knew-I knew-that my children were on that truck, he says, Because my brother-in-law would not have left them behind. He would have taken them with him. I had another brother in Tyre and I called him. He had heard the same news and was waiting at the hospital. He said it was too dangerous to travel from Beirut to Tyre. He said that my families were only wounded. I said that if they were only wounded, I wanted to speak to them. I spoke to Marwa. She said Wissam was in the operating theatre. I asked to speak to the others. My brother just said: 'Later.'

No one who has traveled the roads of southern Lebanon under Israeli

air attack can underestimate the dangers. But Mohamed and his nephew Khalil decided to make the run to Tyre in the afternoon. We just drove fast, all the way, Mohamed remembers. I got to the Hiram hospital and I found Ali, my brother, waiting for me. I saw Marwa and I asked about her mother and Hadi and Myrna and she said: 'I saw them in the pick-up, sleeping. When the ship hit us, I was blown out of the vehicle. Afterwards, I saw Mummy and my brother sleeping'. Marwa told Mohamed that she had run from the pick-up with her 19-year-old cousin Zeinab.

When Mohamed drove to the city hospital in Tyre in search of Zahra, Hadi and Myrna, his brother refused to travel with him. At this point, I knew there was something wrong. So I went to the hospital on my own and I found my wife and children in the fridge. It was a horrible shock. To this day, I feel like I am dreaming. And I cannot believe what happened. No one came to ask me about Marwa or Wissam who lost a vein in his leg. It seems no one knows that this house has martyrs.

Before the ceasefire in southern Lebanon, Mohamed was called to say that the medical authorities in Tyre wished to bury the dead of Marwahin temporarily in a mass grave. He attended their burial and returned to his much-battered village on 15-August - just over a month after his wife and two children were killed and in time for their final interment on 24 August. He found his house partially destroyed in the Israeli bombardment along with the van and its Hizbollah rockets. Every day is worse than the one before for me, Mohamed says.

And he blames the world. The UN for giving no protection to his family, Hizbollah's vanity in starting a war with a more powerful enemy and the Israelis for destroying the life of his family. Is Israel in a state of war with children? We need an answer, a response to f this question. We ask for a trial for this Israeli pilot who killed the children. He is a war criminal because he killed innocents for no reason. And what has happened? The south has been destroyed. The people were massacred. The Israelis were back on the soil of my land. I could see them when we buried Zahra and Hadi and Myrna. How can I lose my children and then see the Israelis here? We are ignored by the government and treated with neglect by the media and the political parties-including the Hizbollah-who were the cause of what happened.

Almost all the martyr pictures of the dead of Marwahin contain a ghostly photograph of Rafiq Hariri, the mightiest Sunni Muslim of them all, who was assassinated last year. The martyrs of Marwahin have become identified with a man who sought peace rather than war with Israel. But at the graveyard on the edge of the tobacco-growing village, there is no end to mourning. I found two old women sitting beside the graves, weeping and beating themselves and pulling at their hair. One of them was Ali Kemal's wife. Adel Abdullah took me round the graves. His sister-in-law Mariam lies in one of them, her body still containing the unborn child she was carrying when she died. So are her five children, Ali, 14, Hamad, 12, Hussein, 10, Hassan, eight, and two-year-old Lama.

This is Myrna, Adel says, patting his hand gently on the concrete surface of the little girl's still unadorned grave. This is Zahra, her mother, whom we put just behind her. And here is Hadi. The villagers have written their first names in Arabic in the concrete. "There is Naame Ghanem and her two children. And this is the grave of both Fatmi and Zeinab because we could not tell which bits of them belonged together. That is why the 23 dead of Marwahin have only 22 graves.

On the dirt road to the cemetery on the windy little hill above the village, there still lays a face mask worn by the young men carrying the decomposing bodies to their final grave. And just to the left of the dead, clearly visible to the Israeli settlers in their homes across the border, the villagers have left the remains of Ali Kemal Abdullah's Daihatsu pick-up. It is punctured by a hundred shrapnel holes, bent and distorted and burned. The children in this vehicle had no chance, killed outright or smashed to pieces as they lay wounded afterwards.

If it is right that these people should be martyred in this way, well fine, Adel says to me. If not, why did this crime take place? Why can't a country-a single country, your country-say that Israel was responsible for a war crime? But no, you are silent. A woman, watching Adel's anger, was more eloquent. The problem, she said, is that these poor people belonged to a country called Lebanon and our lives are worth nothing to anyone else. If this had happened in Israel-if all these children were Israeli and the Hizbollah had killed them all with a helicopter - the US president would travel to the cemetery each year for a memorial service and there would be war crimes trials and the world would denounce this crime. But no president is going to come to Marwahin. There will be no trials.

Mohamed al-Abdullah weeps beside his wounded son in Beirut. I consider this to have been a useless war and with these atrocious massacres it is innocent civilians who paid the price. Those who died are resting but we who are living are paying a price every day. That price is paid by the living who suffers. Why should I pay the price of something I didn't choose? I will say just one thing to you. God have mercy on Rafiq Hariri, a man of education and reconstruction. In God's name, I hope his children walk in his path. My wife loved Sheikh Rafiq so much. In this house, my wife's whole life changed after his assassination. Before, Zahra was not interested in politics but from the day his car was bombed, she listened to the news every day. Before bed, she wanted to hear any news. And she said to me once, 'I hope I don't die, so I will know who killed Rafiq Hariri'.

A UN investigation is still underway into Hariri's murder. An Israeli investigation is to start into the disastrous performance of its army during the war. The Hizbollah still claims it won a divine victory in July and August of this year. UNIFIL, which turned the refugees of Marwahin away on 15 July, stated that when they were removing the children's bodies, their soldiers came under fire. Human Rights Watch is still investigating the killings of civilians at Marwahin and other locations and wrote of them before the war ended. The Israeli military, it said in its initial report, did not follow its orders [to civilians] to evacuate with the creation of safe passage routes, and on a daily basis Israeli warplanes and helicopters struck civilians in cars who were trying to flee, many with white flags out the windows, a widely accepted sign of civilian status... On some days, Israeli war planes hit dozens of civilian cars, showing a clear pattern of failing to distinguish between civilian and military objects. International law makes it clear that it is forbidden in any circumstances to carry out direct attacks against civilians and that to do so is a war crime. Human Rights Watch states that war crimes include making the civilian population or individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities the object of attack.

Lama Abdullah was the youngest victim of the Marwahin 23. Ali Kemal's wife Sabaha was in her eighties. At least six of the children were between the ages of one and 10. The Israeli helicopter pilot's name is, of course, unknown.

JULY 16 (DAY 5)

- Israel attacked the southern Lebanese border town of Aitaroun with US500, 1,000, and Mk-84 2,000-lb bombs, four types of US cluster bombs, and US 155mm artillery rounds. fourthy five people, mainly civilians, including seven Canadians died. Eight other Canadians were injured as well as more than 100 Lebanese.

Picture above is Hassan El-Akhras, a Candian citizen who lost most of his family on July 15, 2006 to American bombs when Israel killed fourthy five civilians at Aitaroun. Seven members of his family were Canadian citizens. His family members who were killed included: Salam Al-Akhrass, one year old; Ahmad, three years old; Zeinab, five years old; Saja, seven years old, Amira, twenty four years old, Amira, twenty four years old; Hussein, fifthy eight years old. His family members who were injured were Ahmad, sixty six years old; Saada, sixty seven years old; Mohammad, ninety years old and Hassan, eighty five years old.

On January 2, 2007, Israeli Chief of Staff Dan Halutz, during a news conference in which he said Israel was not prepared for the July War it launched and

that Israeli reservists needed to be better trained, stated in response to a question about Israel's conduct at Aitaroun, we killed hundreds of terrorists in the war including at Aitaroun.

- Israel renewed its attacks on Al Dahiya, Hirek Haret in the southern suburbs of Beirut with US missiles, 155 mm artillery shells and bombs in the 500-2,000-lb range. According to the *Daily Star* the attacks continued all day and evening. Fourthy three unexploded bombs in this range are found in Al Dahiya by Lebanese authorities as of September 28, 2006.
- Al Jazeera reported that Israeli air attacks killed twenty three civilians around Lebanon.
- Senior IDF officers concluded that, given the failure of the air campaign, they had only one choice-to invade Lebanon with ground troops.
- Israeli warplanes bombed the PlastMed and Plastetech factories which burned for three days over Tyre. Greenpeace later warned that nearly half of Lebanon's four million citizens face health risks pollution caused by Israel's bombing.
- Israeli PM Omert says the attack on Haifa will have far-reaching consequences.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

JULY 17 (DAY 6)

- Using US F-16s and Apache helicopters, Israel targets the Beirut's Haret Hreik neighborhood and said it killed at least seventeen civilians. Some Israeli ground troops briefly enter into Lebanon. They retreated.
- A US Tow missile hit a minibus in Rmeileh, killing twelve civilians. In Tyre at least nine civilians were killed in a sea-launched missile attack using American launchers and US Harpoon missiles.
- Israel targed over seventy-five areas across Lebanon including an army barracks in Tripoli, where eight soldiers died, arm bases in Baalbek, and fuel tanks in Beirut's port.
- Under threat of a US veto, the UN Security Council fails to agree on a ceasefire call.
- PM Olmert told his aids that he would deploy the full might of the IDF to defeat Hezbollah while his spokesmen told the media Israel was willing to accept a ceasefire and an international force. Olmert later admitted that he did not believe he would have to call on reserves during the conflict because the IDF insisted they could do the job.
- UN chief Kofi Annan and UK PM Tony Blair suggested sending an international force to Lebanon to half the violence but Israel says it is too soon to consider such a move.

JULY 18 (DAY 6)

- Israel continued its air strikes which numbered more than 150, with US F-16s all across Lebanon. Thirthy civilians are killed. American weapons used include Tow missiles and 500 and 1,000 lb bombs, as well as M-42, M-26, and CBU-58s cluster bombs.
- Eleven Lebanese soldiers were killed inside their barracks east of Beirut. Nine members of a family are killed in an air strike in Aitaroun. Israel bomb four civilian food supply trucks on the Damascus-Beirut highway. A convoy of donated medical good was bombed with US Tow missiles and 155 mm artillery shells near Zahle.
- Israel fired thousands of M-42 American cluster bombs into Blida; at least one young girl was killed.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

JULY 19 (DAY 7)

- Israel continued using US F-16s aircraft firing missiles and artillery shells filled with cluster munitions all across the south of Lebanon.
- Lebanese deaths include twenty one in Srifa, eleven near Baalbek, six in Nabatiyeh, five near Maarabun, and two in Rmeich.
- In Beirut the airport runway and fuel tanks are bombed again.
- Israel fired more than 50 155mm US artillery shells filled with cluster munitions at Blida. They were M-483A1 Dual Purpose Improved Conventional Munitions artillery shells which deliver 88 M-42 cluster submunitons per round. This was the same type used by Israel earlier in 1996-2000 against the Sheba Farms area. This cluster attack killed sixty-year-old Maryam Ibrahim inside her home. The cluster bomblets wounded twelve persons, all civilians, including seven children named below. These victims of US cluster bombs used by Israel included a fourthy-five-year-old

taxi driver and head of the family, Ahmad Ali, who lost both legs. Also wounded were Mira, sixteen, Fatima, twelve, Ali ten, Aya, three and Ola, one. Ahmad Ali's wife Akram Ibrahim and his mother-in-law Ola Musa, eighty, were also wounded. Four relatives, all German-Lebanese dual nationals sheltering with the family, were wounded as well: Mohammed Ibrahim, fourthy-five, his wife Fatima, fourthy, and their children Ali sixteen and Rula thirteen.

- At least seventy civilians were killed in Lebanon on this deadliest day of Israel's offensive.
- Israel dropped US 500 and 1,000-lb bombs on the Maliban glass factory in Ba'albeck.

JULY 20 (DAY 8)

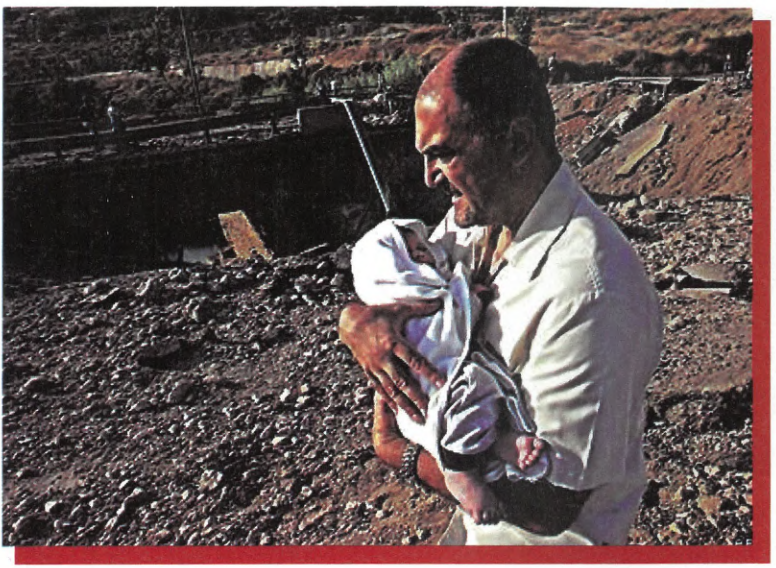
- Israel attempted to cross into Lebanon near Moshav Avivm on its side of the border. Four IDF soldiers were killed. Another was killed and three more injured when two US Apache helicopters collide in northern Israel.
- Thousands of foreigners pour out of Lebanon seeking refuge in Cyprus, Syria, Jordan, and Turkey. More than 100,000 have already left their homes in the South.

JULY 21 (DAY 9)

- Lebanese civilians continued to flee the South and the foreign national exodus continued.
- The Israeli air force continued to bomb around Lebanon using US F-16s and Apache helicopters. According to the Lebanese government and international NGOs, more than 300 civilians were killed, mainly with American weapons. Israel called up several reserve army battalions.
- Israel bombs the Mdeirei Bridge on the main Beirut-Damascus highway for the third time. This time using two US 1000-lb bombs.
- Al Jazeera reports that fourthy five Lebanese civilians were killed in attacks on Ba'albeck and Southern Lebanese towns.
- According to Pentagon sources, the July twenty one call-up was a clear sign that Israel's war was failing. The call up was chaotic with ill-trained reserve troops arriving at the front without the necessary equipment,

coherent battle plan, or munitions necessary to carry on the fight. Sometimes it was fourth-eight hours before a unit's food and water arrived. According to one former senior US commander, Israeli troops looked unprepared, sloppy and demoralized. This wasn't the vaunted IDF, their spokesmen hyped.

- Late in the day, the White House received an urgent request from Olmert for large numbers of precision guided munitions. Bush gave the order and within minutes the delivery via Scotland was underway with departure from the US the next morning. A congressional source stated that the White House now knew that Israel had failed to degrade Hezbollah significantly during the first ten days of the war. Pentagon officials were dismayed that Israel had expended most of its munitions in the war's first ten days. This suggested that that Israel had abandoned tactical bombing of the Lebanese Resistance and had decided to attack Lebanon's infrastructure in an attempt to demoralize the Lebanese public.
- There were complaints among some officers at the Pentagon but the shipment went ahead. Some commented that the rush deployment of US munitions to Israel was reminiscent of a similar request made by Israel in 1973—at the height of the October War. One officer commented, this can only mean one thing. They're on the ropes.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.



JULY 22 (DAY 10)

- Israeli ground troops moved into Maroun al-Ras, destroying a radio tower and firing more than 100 American cluster bombs of the M-26, CBU-58 and M-42 types. At the end of the day the IDF claimed that it had taken the town, but it had not. In fact, the Nasr Brigade of Hezbollah destroyed several US- and Israeli-armored vehicles with handmade anti-tank missiles.It became evident to the IDF that it could enter a town but it could not hold it.
- Post-war interviews in the south of Lebanon and Beirut make plain that IDF troops never fully secured the border area and Maroun al-Ras was never fully taken. Nor did Hezbollah ever feel the need to call up its reserves, as Israel had done. The entire was fought by one Hezbollah brigade of 3,000 troops, and no more, one military expert in the region said. The Nasr Brigade fought the entire war. Hezbollah never felt the need to reinforce it.
- In northern Lebanon, Israeli jets bombed a television and mobile phone transmission tower near Jounieh, Mount Sannine and Tripoli with Tow missiles and 500 lb bombs.

- During a twenty-four-hour period Israel bombed more than 150 targets across Lebanon according to the Israeli military. Israel was encouraged by US Secretary of State Rive to ignore calls for a ceasefire and she described the plight of Lebanon as simply part of the birth pangs of a new Middle East.
- According to the *New York Times*, the US was rushing a delivery of precision-guided 2,000-lb bombs to Israel.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

JULY 23 (DAY 11)

- Israel targeted two ambulances at Qana belonging to the Lebanese Civil Defense using unmanned aerial vechicles (UAVs) or drones as they are commonly known.

SPECIAL TIMELINE REPORT: ISRAEL LOBBY CREATES A HOAX BY ACCUSING THE LEBANESE RESISTANCE OF PERPETRATING ONE

During the July 2006 War, Israel was accused by numerous local and

international media outlets of attacking two Lebanese Red Cross ambulances in Qana on July 23, 2006. Following these accusations, some AIPAC and the Israel lobby claimed that the attack on the ambulances "never happened" and was a Hezbollah-orchestrated "hoax," a charge picked up by conservative commentators such as Oliver North and Rush Limbaugh and G. Gordon Liddy among many others. These claims attracted renewed attention when the Australian foreign minister Downer, not know for his wisdom, stated that "it is beyond serious dispute that this episode has all the makings of a hoax."

In response, Human Rights Watch researchers carried out a more in-depth investigation of the Qana ambulance attacks. HRW conducted detailed interviews with four of the six ambulance staff and the three wounded people in the ambulance, on-site visits to the Tibnine and Tyre Red Cross offices from which the ambulances originated to review their records and meet with supervisors, an examination of the ambulances that were struck, an on-site visit to the Qana site where the attack took place, and interviews with others such as international officials with the International Committee of the Red Cross who were involved in responding to the attack on the night it happened.

The results of investigation clearly established that the attack on the ambulances was not a hoax as the Isreali lobby had claimed. Israeli forces did attack two Lebanese Red Cross ambulances the night of July 23, 2006 in Qana, with missiles fired from an Israeli drone flying overhead. The physical and testimonial evidence collected by Human Rights Watch disproves the allegations of a "hoax," made by persons who never visited Lebanon and had no opportunity to assess the evidence first-hand. Those claiming a hoax relied on faulty conjectures based on a limited number of photographs of one of the ambulances.

«We've investigated cluster munitions in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq, but we've never seen use of cluster munitions that was so extensive and dangerous to civilians,» Steve Goose, director of the Human Rights Watch arms division. January 30, 2007

Israel bombed the town of Qana in the early morning hours on Sunday killing fifty seven including thirty seven children who were taking shelter in a house

on the edge of the battered village in southern Lebanon. Qana was also the site of a massacre of civilians at a UN base that was blown up by Israelis in 1996. UN and Lebanese workers spent the day digging through the rubble in an effort to find all the bodies. A UN peacekeeper walks through the rubble of Qana.

THE FACTS:

On July 23, 2006, at approximately 11:15 p.m. Israeli drones struck two clearly marked Red Cross ambulances, numbered 782 and 777, in the village of Qana in front of where the Memorial for those killed by US MK-84 2,000-lb bombs, is now located. The ambulances had spotlights on top of their vehicles identifying their Red Cross flags and flashing blue strobe lights. The ambulance crews had just transferred three wounded Lebanese civilians from one family – Ahmad Fawaz, 41, his mother, Jamila, 80, and Muhammad, his son, 13 – from ambulance 782 to ambulance 777 when the missiles struck. The first attack hit ambulance 777, and a second attack struck ambulance 782 a few minutes later, injuring all six of the Red Cross crew; their three patients suffered additional injuries. Ahmad Fawaz lost his leg in the ambulance strike, while his mother was partially paralyzed, and remains bedridden because of nerve damage to her leg. His son received multiple shrapnel wounds to the head. Many media accounts featured pictures of ambulance 782 with its Red Cross roof emblem penetrated by a missile.

Ahmad Fawaz, who lost his right leg in an Israeli strike on the Qana ambulances.

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Jamila Fawaz, 80, sustained injuries to her leg as a result of an Israeli strike on the Qana ambulances, and has been bedridden since.

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However, some pro-Israel commentators claimed that the ambulance attack was nothing more than a Hezbollah-orchestrated hoax. Zombietime, a website based in California, asserted that the attack "never happened." Oliver North, a former US official of the Reagan administration and now a conservative commentator, claimed that a Hezbollah "disinformation" campaign had misled Human Rights Watch and the "mainstream news" about the true nature of the attack on the ambulances. Writing in the Washington Times on September 3, 2006, North asserted that:

The 33-day Israeli military operation against Hezbollah in Lebanon is rife with examples of how disinformation has become "mainstream news." One

of the most egregious examples was the claim, widely circulated in the Western media, that IDF [Israel Defense Forces] aircraft intentionally targeted a Red Cross convoy of clearly marked ambulances in Qana on July 23. Though photographs clearly show no such attack occurred, both Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch used published accounts of the attack as evidence of Israeli "war crimes." Bloggers – like Powerline and Zombietime – who reported this incident as disinformation were dismissed as "right-wing extremists."

North's claims challenged the credibility of one of the most widely reported attacks during the Israel-Hezbollah war. Major media outlets such as the BBC and Independent Television News in Britain, and the US cable station MSNBC, as well as newspapers, weeklies, and wires, including the New York Times, Boston Globe, Los Angeles Times, Associated Press, and Time Magazine, had carried the story of Israel's attack on the Qana ambulances. North's allegations, and the websites cited by him, also challenged the credibility of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Lebanese Red Cross, charging that they had been involved in an "anti-Israel hoax." Their claims gained further credibility when Australia's foreign minister, well known for his pro-Israel and anti-Arab views publicly claimed that "it is beyond serious dispute that this episode has all the makings of a hoax." The Israeli lobby led the way and employed known Arab bashers like Dr. Avi Bell of Bar-Ilan University who quickly joined in, using the hoax claims to question other reports of Israeli war crimes during it invasion: **"If one looks at the photographs of the ambulances in question, it is quite clear that they were never struck by any missiles and that such damage as they suffered occurred long before the war....How many others of Human Rights Watch's claims are hoaxes may never be known."**

The hoax theorists based their conclusions on the analysis of Zombietime, whose authors never visited Lebanon, but reached their conclusion by reviewing photographs and stories about the attack in the media. Specifically, they purported to refute the media accounts of the ambulance attack with the following claims:

- It was not an Israeli missile that pierced the Red Cross emblem on the roof of the ambulance. Instead, Hezbollah propagandists removed a pre-existing circular air vent in the roof of the ambulance to make it appear that a missile pierced the ambulance.
- The attack could not have happened on July 23, as reported, because

photographs taken about a week after the incident show the presence of rust on the roof of the ambulance where shrapnel had scraped the paint away. Such rust would not develop so quickly "in dry climates such as Lebanon in the summer."

- Reports of a "huge explosion" inside the ambulance are false, because the damage to the ambulances should have been worse. The windshield of the ambulance is caved inward (whereas a large explosion inside the ambulance would have projected the windshield outward), and the metal frame of the ambulance is pretty much intact, showing much less damage, comparatively, than vehicles targeted by Israel in Gaza. Reports of "an intense fire" inside the ambulance are also false, as the equipment inside the ambulance was not burned.
- A missile could not have sheared off the leg of the man inside the ambulance because the gurney inside the pictured ambulance is undamaged and there is no blood on its floor. Also, media accounts are inconsistent, with some claiming he lost his left leg, others his right, and still others both his legs. While two ambulances were hit, they are confident that they are analyzing pictures of the correct ambulance – numbered 782 – because that is the one reported to have been transporting the wounded man.
- Reports that the attack injured all six ambulance crew are false: one ambulance driver (Qasim Cha`lan), pictured with a bandaged ear and chin right after the attack, appeared without bandages and visible wounds a week later.
- The ambulance drivers were "apparently sympathetic to Hezbollah and could have staged the incident." Citing a Lebanese Red Cross worker who was not present during the Qana ambulance attack who said, "whether they are civilian, a resistance fighter or an Israeli soldier, our policy is to help any human who needs help," the bloggers argue that the use of the term "resistance fighter" rather than "Hezbollah militant" shows a political bias in favor of Hezbollah and hence a proclivity to staging a hoax.

INTENSIVE INVESTIGATION REFUTES ISRAEL LOBBY CHARGES:

The following is Human Rights Watch's reconstruction of the incident based on the forensic and testimonial evidence researchers have collected and verified:

During the day of July 23, multiple attacks by Israeli Apache Helicopters and drones hit civilian vehicles on the roads of southern Lebanon. Among the attacks that day was one that hit the German-Lebanese Srour family fleeing from Mansouri, killing two and wounding four; an attack that hit the car of the Abad family, also fleeing Mansouri, that wounded nine; an attack near a taxi on the outskirts of Qana that killed a young Lebanese photographer, Layal Najib; and an attack that hit a van carrying the Shaita family near Kafra that killed three and wounded 14. Lebanese Red Cross ambulances were busy trying to make their way through the heavily bombed roads of southern Lebanon to evacuate the wounded.

At about 9:30 pm, Israeli forces fired artillery shells near the Tibnine home of Ahmad Fawaz, 41, a car mechanic. The family hid inside their hallway, but a shell exploded just outside the house, spraying shrapnel inside. The attack injured five members of the Fawaz family: Ahmad Fawaz received shrapnel wounds to his hip and arm; his son Muhammad, 13, received shrapnel in the toe of his left foot and in his stomach area; Ali, Muhammad's twin brother, had slight shrapnel wounds to his leg; Ahmad's wife Fatima had shrapnel wounds to her leg and left shoulder; Ahmed's mother Jamila, 80, had a nerve in her leg cut by shrapnel, and also had cuts on her body from glass shattered by the explosion.

After the attack, Ahmad Fawaz put his family in his car – a clear indication both his legs were still functioning at the time – and drove them to the local gendarmerie (serail) building, where he arrived at about 10 pm. The civil defense officials based at the gendarmerie building first took the wounded to the Tibnine hospital, where they received first aid, but decided to move them to the better-equipped Tyre hospital for further treatment, since the Tibnine hospital had no pain killers available. The records of the Tibnine Red Cross office, located adjacent to the hospital, document the intake of the wounded members of the Fawaz family, as well as the nature of their injuries. Most important, the records confirm that Ahmad Fawaz had no major injuries to his legs.

Husain Ayyad, 27, an eight-year veteran of the Lebanese Red Cross, and Husain Farhat, 21, a five-year veteran, recalled in separate interviews with Human Rights Watch that the local gendarmerie had contacted their office to alert them to wounded civilians; they immediately put their Tibnine ambulance, number 782, on

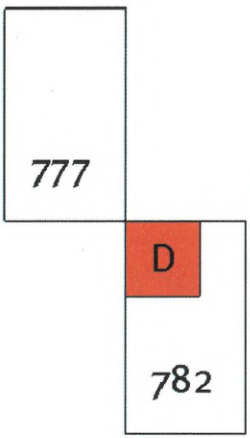
standby. Ambulance 782 was staffed by Ayyad, who drove the ambulance, Farhat, and Muhammad Burji. Shortly after 10:30 p.m., the Tibnine Hospital asked the Red Cross to prepare to transfer the three most seriously wounded – Ahmad Fawaz, his son Muhammad, and his mother Jamila – to Tyre. The Tibnine ambulance crew strapped Jamila into a wheelchair directly behind the driver's cabin, and then put Ahmad and Muhammad on the two stretchers in the back of their ambulance.

The Lebanese Red Cross officials in Tibnine made contact with their counterparts in Tyre; they decided to dispatch a second ambulance, number 777, from Tyre to meet ambulance 782 mid-way in Qana to take the wounded so that the Tibnine ambulance could return to its base. The Tyre ambulance was staffed by Qasim Cha`lan, as driver, Muhammad Hasan and Nadir Juda.

The ambulance crews interviewed by Human Rights Watch reported that both ambulances were clearly marked and identifiable as ambulances from a great distance. Painted white, they had large red crosses painted on their sides and roof. They each had a large Red Cross flag attached to the roof, illuminated by a spotlight mounted on the roof. The ambulances also had a piercing, flashing blue light designed to be visible at a great distance, even at night. The ambulance personnel confirmed that they had left their lights and sirens on during the entire operation, as standard procedure.

On the way to Qana, the Tibnine ambulance crew spotted Israeli warplanes flying overhead. They saw an Israeli warplane fire a missile just ahead of them, near the village of Haris, causing a huge explosion. Husain Ayyad, the driver, called the Tibnine Red Cross office to report what had happened and to ask for instructions, and was told to proceed cautiously. The Tibnine operations room decided to hold off on sending a second ambulance with the other wounded family members because of the precarious security situation.

The two ambulances arrived in Qana around the same time and parked close to each other in the central square, adjacent to the large open public memorial. They chose the site because it was an open area, where they would be clearly visible from the air. Both ambulances left all their lights on during the transfer operation. They parked facing the same direction, with ambulance 777 just in front of ambulance 782 (so the rear door of ambulance 777 was just next to the driver's window of ambulance 782 on its right).



D notes the location of the driver seat in the ambulance.

The ambulance crews quickly transferred the three wounded from ambulance 782 to ambulance 777. All three of the Tibnine ambulance 782 crew and two of the Tyre ambulance 777 crew reentered their respective ambulances; Qasim Cha`lan of ambulance 777 remained outside, talking to Husain Ayyad of ambulance 782, to get information about the wounded. As Cha`lan was closing the back door of ambulance 777, a missile most likely fired from an Israeli drone (not from an Israeli airplane or helicopter, as earlier reported) struck the rear of the roof of ambulance 777, which was now holding the wounded, in the same positions as in the Tibnine ambulance (Jamila in the chair behind the driver, Ahmad and Muhammad on the stretchers in the back).

Human Rights Watch originally reported that the ambulances had been struck by missiles fired from an Israeli airplane, but that conclusion was incorrect. In its follow-up investigation, Human Rights Watch considered all of the possible sources for the missiles that hit the ambulances, including Israeli air plane fire, Israeli helicopter fire, Israeli drone fire, or Israeli artillery fire, as well as the possibility that the ambulances had been hit by a Hezbollah-fired Katyusha rocket or artillery.

A missile from an Israeli airplane can be ruled out, as such missiles would have caused much more massive destruction and have left a huge crater. The precision with which the vehicles were struck from the air, the limited damage caused, and the non-existence of heavy shrapnel, also rule out an artillery-fired round from Israel or Hezbollah, as well as an errant Katyusha rocket fired by Hezbollah. It is nearly impossible that two artillery rounds or two Katyusha rockets would have hit the ambulances with such accuracy, and they would have caused much more pronounced damage and left behind shrapnel as evidence.

The limited damage and the high precision of the strikes on the ambulances suggest that the weapon was a smaller type of missile fired from an Israeli drone or helicopter. Israel is in possession of an arsenal of highly precise missiles that can be fired from either helicopters or drones and are designed to limit the damage to their targets. The Israeli-designed and manufactured SPIKE anti-armor missile system and the still experimental DIME (dense inert metal explosive) missile are examples of smaller missiles designed to cause smaller explosions and limit collateral damage. Such missiles cause less powerful explosions than the previous generation of US-manufactured TOW and Hellfire missiles (often used by the IDF in assassination attempts against Palestinian militants in Gaza and the West Bank), which would have destroyed the ambulances completely. While the smaller missiles can be fired from either drones or helicopters, none of the witnesses reported hearing helicopters in the air before or during the attack, so it is most likely the missiles were fired from an Israeli drone.

Human Rights Watch cannot conclusively state which missiles were used in the attack on the ambulances, because our researchers did not find diagnostic shrapnel or missile parts at the scene, and because of the experimental nature of some missiles used by the IDF. The DIME is a weapon with a casing designed to disintegrate in an effort to minimize collateral damage from its fragmentation. Regardless of the weapon used, the IDF certainly has the capability to attack vehicles with limited impact missiles designed to cause low collateral damage.
The accuracy, limited lethality, and limited structural damage caused by drone-fired missiles are consistent with other similar incidents documented by Human Rights Watch involving Israeli drone-fired missiles. For example, an Israeli drone also attacked a white van carrying 17 members of the Shaita family traveling near Kafra

on July 23, hitting the van in the middle of its roof and causing a limited explosion that killed three persons and wounded 14, but did not destroy the vehicle. Human Rights Watch also observed similar limited damage caused by the July 18 missile strikes on a convoy of the United Arab Emirates' Red Crescent Society transporting medicines, vegetable oil, and food supplies, as well as a subsequent attack on a convoy of fuel smugglers hit in the Bekaa Valley on July 19.

It is clear that the limited damage to the ambulances was not caused by a malfunction of the missile but rather by a weapon designed to cause limited damage. The conclusion that the ambulances were hit by a smaller missile fired from an Israeli drone also addresses some of the "hoax" claims, such as the statement by Australia's foreign minister that his skepticism came from the fact that "the ambulance would have been pulverized if it had been hit by a missile. In fact, many of the Lebanese vehicles hit by drone-fired missiles during the 2006 conflict were not "pulverized," sustaining only limited damage.

The interior of the van carrying the Shaita family, which was struck by an Israeli missile on July 23, killing three persons. Like the Qana ambulance, the van was struck in the middle of the roof (by two missiles), but the missiles caused only limited destruction inside the van.

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The missile traveled from the roof of ambulance 777 through the gurney on which Ahmed Fawaz was strapped, severing his leg, and then through the floor of the ambulance deep into the pavement of the road. This first explosion also blew out the windscreen of Tibnine ambulance 782, and sprayed the three Tibnine ambulance crew and the Tyre ambulance crew with shrapnel. Because all of the ambulance crews were wearing flak jackets and helmets, they were spared serious injuries, but one of the Tyre ambulance crew, Muhammad Hasan, was hit with so much shrapnel to his helmet that he momentarily lost consciousness.

The roof of ambulance 777, showing the entry and exit points of the missile. The location of the exit point of the missile corresponds with the missile impact location on the gurney mattress on which Ahmed Fawaz was located (see picture below).

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All of the ambulance workers managed to run away from their vehicles and sought shelter in a nearby building. Minutes later, Ayyad, the driver of ambulance 782, returned to his ambulance to try to use its radio to contact his office when a second Israeli drone missile hit the ambulance right through the middle of the Red Cross emblem on the roof. As Ayyad again ran away from the ambulance, he saw the young patient, Muhammad, make his way out of ambulance 777 and lose consciousness. He carried Muhammad back to the building. Muhammad had received additional shrapnel wounds to his chest and head from the first attack on the ambulance. The crew members were unable to retrieve Ahmed Fawaz and his mother Jamila from the first ambulance hit, and believed them to have been killed.

The ambulance crews stayed in the basement of the building for one hour and 40 minutes. They used cell-phones to contact their offices, but had to leave their basement shelter to obtain a signal. In the basement, they administered first

aid to each other, using the first aid supplies that they carried in their pockets, dressing shrapnel wounds and trying to stem their bleeding ears and noses. Representatives of the ICRC confirmed to Human Rights Watch that the Lebanese Red Cross had contacted them that night, and they in turn contacted Israeli officials to inform them of the incident and seek safe passage for a second ambulance convoy to retrieve the wounded patients and the ambulance crews. At 1:15 a.m., an ambulance crew from Tyre finally managed to reach Qana and evacuate the wounded patients and ambulance crews.

The Qana basement in which the wounded ambulance crews and Muhammad Fawaz took shelter. The floor of the basement was still littered with discarded first aid equipment when visited by Human Rights Watch on September 14.

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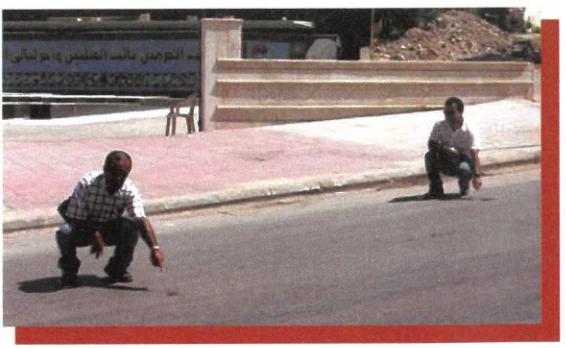
As the ambulance workers would soon discover, both Ahmad Fawaz and his mother Jamila had actually survived the attack. Ahmad Fawaz recalled to Human Rights Watch that he was knocked unconscious by the first attack, but soon awoke to realize he had lost his leg:

"When I woke up, there were still explosions, but farther away from us.... I extended my hand to my leg, and realized I had lost my leg. It was my right leg. I did not feel anything. I also received shrapnel to my left leg, and it was broken. My left knee cap was also affected.... I stayed in the ambulance for one and a half hours.... During that time, I would wake up and black out. I got cold, so I covered myself and blacked out until I saw the light of the ambulance coming. Then, they did not come to me, as they must have thought I was dead. I raised my arms three times before they saw me. They then came and got me."

After the second attack, Jamila managed to crawl out of ambulance 777 to the entrance gate of a nearby building, where she sought shelter. She sustained serious shrapnel wounds, and was losing a lot of blood. When the second ambulance crew arrived, Ahmad told them that his mother was alive and had crawled out of the ambulance.

The new ambulances from Tyre took all of the wounded to Jabal Amal hospital in Tyre, before sending them to other hospitals. Muhammad, the most seriously injured, remained in intensive care for five days. Although the ambulance crews' flak jackets and helmets protected them from major injuries, all suffered significant damage to their ear drums, including bleeding from their ears, due to the impact of the explosion, and from minor shrapnel wounds.

Human Rights Watch found significant physical evidence to support the version of events provided by the ambulance drivers, their patients, and their supervisors, and found no inconsistencies in their accounts. The intake logs of the Tibnine hospital and the dispatch logs of the Tyre and Tibnine Red Cross offices accurately reflect the injuries sustained by the victims and the timeline of events. In Qana, Human Rights Watch researchers visited the scene of the incident. There, they located two small impact craters from drone-fired missiles on the pavement, located exactly where the eyewitnesses reported the ambulances to have been parked and hit. Nearby, in a basement shelter, Human Rights Watch researchers found discarded latex gloves, bandages, and other first aid equipment, consistent with the account provided by the witnesses.



The location of the two missile impact craters outside the Qana memorial (visible in the background). The location of the missile impact craters corresponds with testimony from witnesses on the location of the two ambulances, with ambulance 777 parked in front and to the left of ambulance 782.

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A close-up picture of the missile impact crater below where ambulance 777 was reportedly parked. The missile round penetrated deeply into the pavement.

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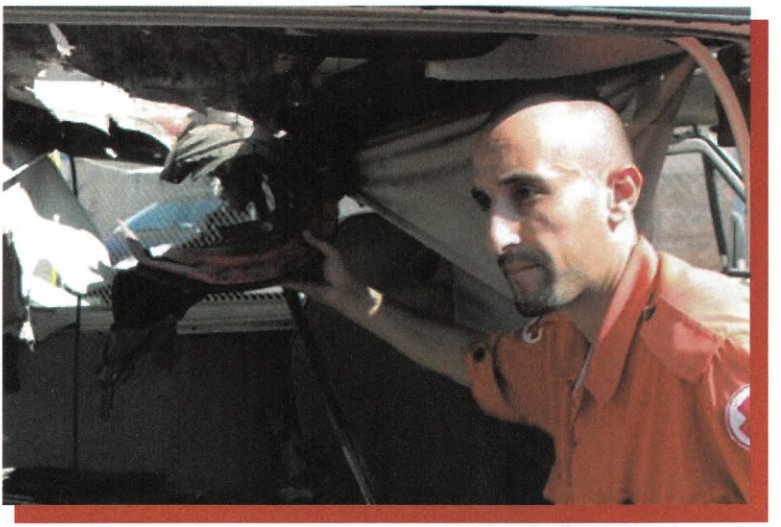
Human Rights Watch examined the struck ambulances, which were stored at the Red Cross parking lot in Tyre, and found that the damage to the vehicles also supports the accounts of the eyewitnesses. Both ambulances clearly show missile entry points on the roof, with ambulance 782 struck directly through the Red Cross emblem and ambulance 777 towards the rear of its roof, and smaller missile exit points on the floor of the ambulances. Human Rights Watch found the rooftop air vent of ambulance 782, which showed that it had itself been penetrated by a missile; the circular vent was about 30 cm in diameter, and was located at the center of a much larger red cross that covered the entire roof of the ambulance. Human Rights Watch located the gurney on which Ahmad was lying when the missile struck and severed his leg, which clearly shows the impact of a missile.



A Lebanese Red Cross worker holds the destroyed air vent, penetrated by an Israeli drone missile, next to the hole in the roof of ambulance 782.

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A close-up of the destroyed air vent of ambulance 782.

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- Israel bombed southern Lebanon, including Maroun al Ras, Marwahin, and Aita al-Shaab from the air with US F16s, Tow missiles, four types of US cluster bombs, as well as 500, 1,000, and 2,000-lb US bombs.
- Israeli air strikes killed at least twelve civilians including a Lebanese press photographer near the southern city of Tyre.
- UN envoy Jan Egland described the Israeli bombing of civilians as a violation of humanitarian law.

JULY 24 (DAY 12)

- Israel bombarded Haret Hirek in south Beirut. Air strikes around Tyre killed seven civilians. Israel attacked Bint Jbeil and lost two of its soldiers, killed some Hezbollah militia and several civilians.
- US envoy Rice visited Lebanon and agreed in principle to a ceasefire when it is viable, and only when and if the two captured Israeli soldiers are freed.
- Israel began intensive use of hundreds of thousands of US cluster munitions against what it called "Hezbollah emplacements" in southern Lebanon. Using single-fuse (high dud rate) ageing versions of these US cluster bombs Israeli artillery officers carpet bombed dozens of Lebanese villages between this date and the end of the war. Their use is as close to the definition of indiscriminate use of firepower as one can get.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

JULY 25 (DAY 13)

- Israel continued its attack on Bint Jbeil with US 500, 1,000 and 2,000 MK-84 GPS bombs, hundreds of 80mm mortars and four types of US cluster bombs.
- Israel fired US missiles which kill four UN observers at Khiam in southern Lebanon which UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan claims were an apparently deliberate targeting.
- Israel bombed a house in Nabatieh, killing seven civilians according to Lebanese security sources. Several Israeli strikes hit the coastal city of Tyre.
- Human Rights Watch accused Israel of using US cluster bombs against Blida.
- Israel reported that Abu Jaafar, a commander of Hezbollah's central

sector on the Lebanese border was killed in an exchange of fire with Israeli troops near Maroun al-Ras. This false Israeli claim, like many the IDF told the international media was designed to reduce morale among the Lebanese resistance. Abu Jaafar, was untouched and has made appearances since the end of the war.

- The US says it won't pressure Israel for a quick end to its military campaign against Hezbollah.

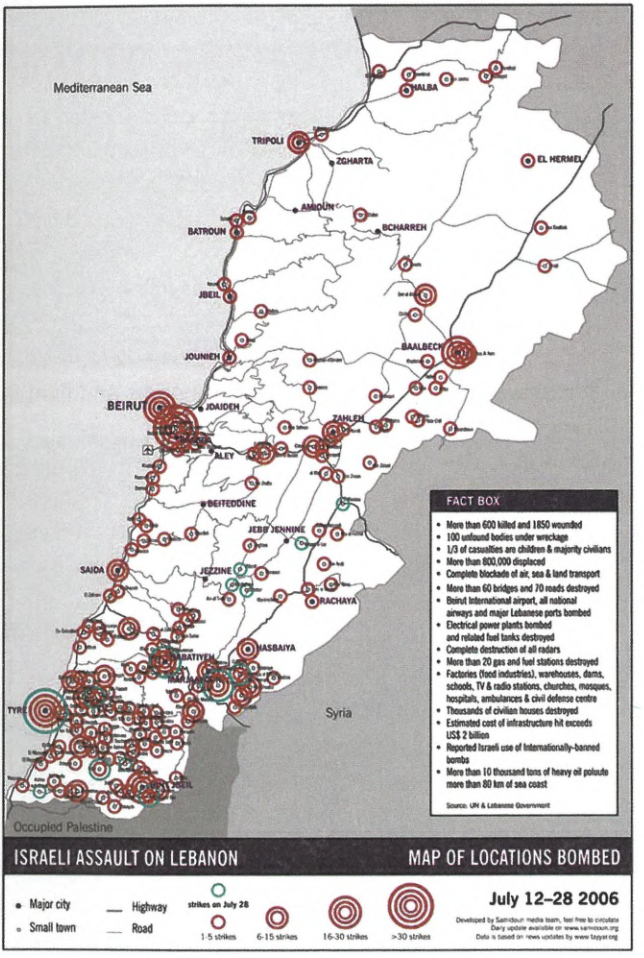
JULY 26 (DAY 14)

- Israeli troops left the Israeli Avivim line, a road that follows parallel to the Lebanese border and enters Lebanon in an attempt to create a buffer zone.
- Israel continued its bombardment of Bint Jbeil. More than thirty-five Israeli were wounded. The battle continued for nine days but ended up in Hezbollah's hands at the end of the war.
- IDF conceded that the previous twenty four hours in their fight for Bint Jbeil was the hardest day of fighting in southern Lebanon. After failing to take the town in the morning, IDF commanders decided to send in their elite Golani Brigade. Nine Golani Brigade soldiers were killed and thirty-five wounded. By late in the afternoon, the IDF pulled them out and sends them to Maroun al-Ras where they joined the fighting against elements of the Nasr Brigade.
- In Maroun el-Ras an Israeli army officer was killed and five soldiers were wounded, according to the IDF.
- Hezbollah forces emulated the North Vietnamese Army during Vietnam. Their forces were instructed to ride out the bombs and fight the enemy in small unit actions.
- Twelve civilians were wounded in Tyre when Israel bombed a ten-story building. Since 7/12/06 at least 398 people—90% civilians, according to the Lebanese Health Ministry, were killed in Israeli strikes according to the Lebanese Ministry of health. More than 1,400 have been wounded in Lebanon.
- The fifteen nation summit on the Middle East conflict began and ended in Rome with no commitment to a ceasefire and fails to act on Kofi Annan's urgent call for an immediate cessation of hostilities.

JULY 27 (DAY 15)

- Israel said the decision in Rome not to call for an immediate ceasefire indicates backing from world powers for the offensive to continue.
- Israeli PM Olmert declares that we will not agree for Hezbollah flags again to fly in our faces on the northern border. More Israeli reserves entered Lebanon. Fighting continued in Bint Jbeil.

- PM Olmert, in response to the IDF failure to take Bint Jbeil and Maroun al-Ras called up 15,000 troops.
- Israel increased its air assault and mobilized more reserve troops. It claimed the failure at the Rome Conference to call for a ceasefire implicitly authorized it to continue bombing Lebanon.



Map showing locations of Israel bombing of Lebanon
During the first 10 days of the July War.

- US F-16s bomb southern and eastern Lebanon with large quantities of American cluster bombs. A Lebanese army base was hit in the north, and a Lebanese policeman was reported killed in Zahle.
- According to Lebanese security sources, the Israeli bombardment killed at least 405 people—mostly civilians—with American weapons and wounded 1,660 people.
- Hezbollah deployed a new rocket, the Khaibar-1, which struk Afula.

JULY 28 (DAY 16)

- Israel blasted south Lebanon for the sixteen day with US cluster bombs, 500, 1,000 and 2,000-lb fragmentation bombs as well as US mortars and artillery shells.
- The severity of Israel's intelligence failures reaches the Israeli public. Paratroopers of the Golani Brigade criticized their commander. IDF commanders expressed dismay by the performance of their troops, noting a signal lack of discipline even among its best-trained regular soldiers. The reserves were worse and some IDF commanders hesitated to put them into battle. One IDF commander was reported to have remarked, Give me

five Hezbollah and you can have twenty-five of ours. I'll kick your butt.

- Israel stopped sending troops into Lebanon, its spokesperson, Miri Eisin stated: They not only have a terrorist army, but they are sort of waiting for us to come in...they have booby-trapped the entire area. They want us to walk into those booby traps.
- No evidence of booby-traps has been offered to date.
- The Israeli Mossad declares that Hezbollah will be able to continue fighting at the current level for a long time.
- Using F-16s and M-109 self-propelled 155mm artillery firing cluster munitions and fragmentation rounds, Israel bombed villages near Tyre where at least ten people were reported killed. Buildings near the town of Nabatiye and Beirut as well as the Bekaa Valley were also bombed.
- A US congressional intelligence committee report indicated the White House was beginning to question Israel's strategy and capability. One expert concluded: Hezbollah had not suffered a significant degradation in its military capabilities, and is capable of fighting for several more months. It is impossible to eliminate thousands of small, mobile, hidden and easily re-supplied rockets via an air campaign.
- According to one Pentagon official: There is a common misperception that the US Air Force was thrilled by the Israel war against Lebanon. They were aghast. They well know the limits of their own power and they know how it can be abused. It seemed to us that Israel threw away the book in Lebanon. This wasn't surgical, it wasn't precise, and it certainly wasn't smart. You can't just coat country in iron and hope to win.
- Bush and Blair announced that they will seek a UN resolution to send a multinational force to south Lebanon to end the conflict.

JULY 29 (DAY 17)

- Israeli forces withdrew from the town of Bint Jbeil under heavy Hezbollah counterattack.
- Two Israeli air strikes with US 500 and 1,000-lb bombs and TOW missiles close the main border crossing between Lebanon and Syria.
- Again using U.S. TOW missiles, Israel bombed Al Safeer, in the Al Dahia Al Janoubiyya areas of Beirut, and shells the Jarhou area in southern Lebanon.

North of Beirut the IDF bombs the Al Assy Bridge. Cluster bombs are dropped in Jabal Abu Rashid, Borka, Jbour and Al Nahry in Al Biqa plains.

- US artillery cluster munitions were fired into Sahl Al Khiyam, in Marjaayoun area in southern Lebanon as well as Al Tayba and Markaba villages. The area around Tyre and outlying villages were also shelled and attacked, according to the IDF, fifthy-one targets overnight destroyed thirthy-seven buildings.

- In addition, Israel bombed roads, bridges, and cars through out southern Lebanon. sixty air strikes by the Israeli air force were carried out overnight; they dropped dozens of US CBU-58s filled with BLU-63 bomblets, according to the UN.
- Two UN peacekeepers from the Indian battalion were wounded by Israeli fire and the UN strongly protest this entire incident to the Israeli and Lebanese authorities.
- Lebanese PM Siniora demands Israel return the Shebaa Farms area it occupied in 1967.
- The US and Israel reject the UN call for a seventy-two hour humanitarian truce.

JULY 30 (DAY 18)

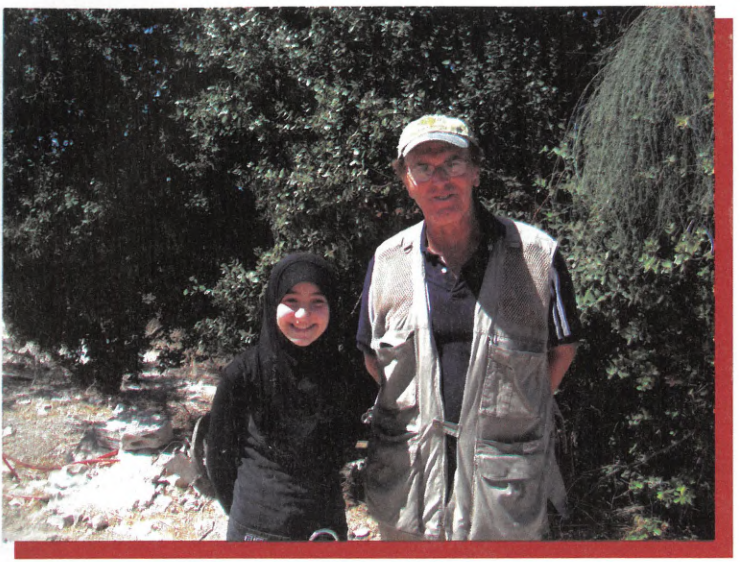
▪ The Israeli air force bombed a three-story house in Qana, killing at least twenty-eight people, including sixteen children, hiding in its bomb shelter. Lebanon called it a war crime and demands an immediate ceasefire. Israel blamed Hezbollah and said it is in no rush for a ceasefire.

Zeinab, pictured above, survived the Qana Massacre. Most of her famly were crushed as the three level concrete dwellings 'pancaked' and was blown apart by two US MK-84 2000-lb bombs supplied to Israel in 2005.

Zeinab lost her mother, pictured above.

This gentleman lost his brother at Qana

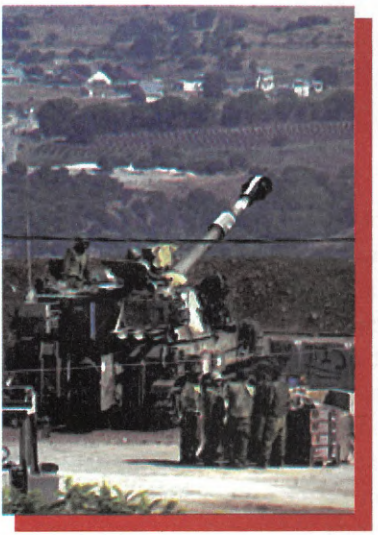
Princesses.....terrorists? Qana victims.....



This young lady, twelve year old Amora, escaped death at Qana, quite by chance because here Mother did not allow her to go with her friends and neighbors into the shelter in the 'bigger house' next door.

- Lebanon canceled Rice's visit.
- Israel continued its attacks on Maroun Al Ras, Bint Jbeil and Eitaroun. Shellig in Tyre and Al Biqa plains killed at least fourteen Lebanese civilians.
- Israel bombed Adisa and Khiam with US cluster bombs as well as 500, 1,000 and 2,000-lb bombs. Israel attacked Taibe, Kfar Kela and Odayse with bombs and artillery containing US cluster bombs including M-42, and CBU-58s filled with BLU-63 bomblets.
- Israel again attacked the Masnaa border crossing into Syria.
- Israeli ground troops fight Hezbollah outside Talbe in a new cross-border incursion.
- One US congressional source on the Senate Intelligence Committee argued that Qana happened because the IDF failure in their initial plan to degrade Hezbollah. "IAF planning officers went back through their target folders to see if they had missed anything. When they decided they hadn't

someone probably stood up and went into the other room and returned with a set of new envelopes of targets in densely populated areas and said, 'Hey, what about these target envelopes?' And so they did it. The bombing of targets close in to southern Lebanon population areas was the result of Israel's failure in the war-not its success.



- The target stretching increased throughout the conflict as the Israeli leadership, frustrated by their inability to identify and destroy major Hezbollah military assets began targeting schools, community centers, mosques, churches and civilian structures under the belief that their inability to identify Hezbollah bunkers signaled they must be using civilian centers.
- Israeli PM old Secretary Rice that Israel needs ten to fourteen more days to continue its offensive.

JULY 31 (DAY 19)

- Israeli warplanes struck the southeastern Lebanese border village of Taibe with US cluster bombs and various fragmentation bombs.
- Israel bombed Ayta al-Sha'b near the Blue Line with dozens of 500,

1,000, and 2,000 US. Bombs as well as hundreds of 80mm mortars and 155 artillery cluster bombs. Israel also fired dozens of internationally outlawed white phosphorus bombs which start fires.

- One Lebanese soldier was killed by Israeli naval fire.
- Olmert said Israel will not declare a ceasefire in the coming days and Bush said any peace between Israel and Lebanon has to be long-lasting and sustainable.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

AUGUST 1 (DAY 20)

- Israel doubled its forces moving into southern Lebanon while also launching a large-scale airborne attack on the Bekaa Valley during the night of August 1. Israel tried to justify its attack by claiming to have retrieved loads of intelligence information and five high value Hezbollah assets after it entered Hikma Hospital in Northern Baalbek.
- The Israeli forces attacked the villages of Tayba, Metula, and Ata Al-shaab further west. Also heavy artillery shelling with US M-109 self-propelled howitzers and 155mm artillery rounds in the villages of Ramia, Dibil, and Qawzah during the early morning.
- The heavy Israeli shelling of Kfar Kela with artillery the day before was followed by aircraft bombing.

- According to the UN, the IDF also attacked Odaie and Rab Talateen and Bint Jbeil.

Near the 'Blue Line' 8/2/06...three types of US 155s cluster, white phosphorus, and fragmentation.

- Israeli warships shelled villages in the South from Lebanon's territorial waters in the Mediterranean.
- Six aid convoys-two from the World Food Pragram and four carrying International Committee of the Red Cross supplies were unable to leave for affected areas in the absence of Israeli safe passage guarantees.
- Israeli PM Olmert said Israel is winning the battle against Hezbollah.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

AUGUST 2 (DAY 21)

- Israel bombed the town of Ba'albeck and al-Jamaliyeh with US cluster bombs, 500, 1,000 and 2,000-lb American bombs as well as Tow missiles. sixteen civilians were killed. Israel kidnapped civilians which it later claims was a mistake. At al-Jamaliyeh, five children and their patents were killed by a US 1000-lb bomb. A van driver was also killed when a Tow missile struck nearby.
- Israel fired a US Tow missile hitting the Ba'albeck home of Mayor Hussein Jamaleddin, killing his son, brother, and five other relatives. A total were killed sixteen civilians.
- The Lebanese government estimated damage caused by Israel>s use of American weapons at 2.5 billion dollars to date.
- PM Olmert said Israel will continue its attacks on Lebanon until the UN disarms Hezbollah.

- Olmert insisted the fighting must continue until an international peacekeeping force is deployed.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

ROBERT FISK: A SPECIAL OUTLINE REPORT: ENTIRE LEBANESE FAMILY KILLED IN ISRAELI ATTACK ON HOSPITAL (SOURCE: UK INDEPENDENT AUGUST 3, 2006)

An attack on a hospital, the killing of an entire Lebanese family, the seizure of five men in Baalbek and a new civilian death toll-468 men, women and children-marked the 22nd day of Israel's latest war on Lebanon.

The Israelis claimed that helicopter-borne soldiers had seized senior Hizbollah leaders although one of them turned out to be a local Baalbek grocer. In a village near the city, Israeli air strikes killed the local mayor's son and brother and five children in their family.
The battle for Lebanon was fast moving out of control last night. Lebanese troops abandoned many of their checkpoints and European diplomats were warning their colleagues that militiamen were taking over the positions. Up to 8,000 Israeli troops were reported to have crossed the border by last night in what was publicised as a military advance towards the Litani River. But far more soldiers would be needed to secure so large an area of southern Lebanon.

The Israelis sent paratroopers to attack an Iranian-financed hospital in Baalbek in the hope of capturing wounded Hizbollah fighters but, after an hour's battle, got their hands on only five men whom the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, later called tasty fish. The operation suggests what Hizbollah has all along said was the purpose of the Israeli campaign: to swap prisoners and to exchange Hizbollah fighters for the two Israeli soldiers who were captured on the border on 12 July.

Hizbollah continued to fire dozens of missiles over the border into Israel, killing one Israeli and wounding 21, with Israeli artillery firing shells back into Lebanon at the rate of one every two minutes. For the first time, a Hizbollah rocket struck the West Bank as well as the Israeli town of Beit Shean, the longest-range missile to have been fired so far. Yet still the West seems unable to produce an end to a war which is clearly overwhelming both Hizbollah and the Israelis.

Hizbollah obviously has far more missiles than the Israelis believed-there is not a town in northern Israel which is safe from their fire-and the Israeli army apparently has no plan to defeat Hizbollah other than the old and hopeless policy of occupying southern Lebanon. If Hizbollah had planned this campaign months in advance-and if the Israelis did the same-then neither side left room for diplomacy.

The French have wisely said they will lead a peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon only after a ceasefire. And to be sure, they will not let this become a NATO-led army. France already has a company of 100 soldiers in the UN force in southern Lebanon, whose commander is himself French, but Paris, after watching the chaos in Iraq, has no illusions about Western armies in the Middle East.

Outside the shattered Dar al-Hikma hospital in Baalbek yesterday stood two burnt cars and a minivan, riddled with bullet-holes. Hizbollah, it seems, fought the Israelis there for more than an hour. The hospital, which includes several British-manufactured heart machines, was empty when the Israeli raid began and was partly destroyed in the fighting.

The Lebanese army, which has tried to stay out of the conflict-heaven knows what its 75,000 soldiers are supposed to do-was attacked again by the Israelis yesterday when they fired a missile into a car which they claimed was carrying a Hizbollah leader. They were wrong. The soldier inside died instantly, joining the 11 other Lebanese troops proclaimed as martyrs by the government from a logistics unit killed in an Israeli air raid two weeks ago.

The obscene score-card for death in this latest war now stands as follows: 508 Lebanese civilians, 46 Hizbollah guerrillas, 26 Lebanese soldiers, 36 Israeli soldiers and 19 Israeli civilians.

In other words, Hizbollah is killing more Israeli soldiers than civilians and the Israelis are killing far more Lebanese civilians than they are guerrillas. The Lebanese Red Cross has found 40 more civilian dead in the south of the country in the past two days, many of them with wounds suggesting they might have survived had medical help been available.

AUGUST 3 (DAY 22)

- Overnight, the IAF conducted 120 air strikes against south Lebanon with an array of US weapons from cluster bombs to fragmentation bombs ranging from 500-2000 lbs. Also employed were naval and land artillery using 155 mm shells.

Beginning at 2 a.m. Beirut time, Israel begins serial bombing of south Beirut.

- The Lebanese government announced four civilian deaths from Israeli attacks in south Lebanon and a total of 900 Lebanese civilians and soldiers killed, with 3,000 wounded. Nearly one million Lebanese displaced.
- Muslim nations as well as the Arab League demand an immediate ceasefire in the Middle East.
- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

AUGUST 4 (DAY 23)

- American weapons kill thirty-three civilian farm workers and wound twenty after Israeli air strike in a farm near Qaa, close to the Lebanon-

Syria border in the Bekaa. Hospital officials and the mayor said all the casualties were Syrian workers or truck drivers.

The above photo shows the site of the killing of thirthy-three Syrian farm workers

Many killed at Qana were Syrian Kurds

- Israel bombed a house in the Taibeh border village in south Lebanon killing seven civilians and wounding ten.
- Israel used American bombs to destroy four bridges on the main coastal highway north of Beirut, cutting off humanitarian aid to civilians displaced or trapped by the conflict.
- Lebanese officials estimated that fifthy-seven people are buried under rubble from Israeli bombing in two villages near the border, Taibeh and Aita al-Shaab.
- Israel bombed the Sohmor power station cutting electricity to the Bekaa Valley and south Lebanon.
- The US and France inched closer to a deal on a UN resolution calling for an end to the fighting.
- The US thwarted the UN and France's proposal for a UN ceasefire resolution.

- No significant diplomatic or political rhetoric reported.

AUGUST 5 (DAY 24)

- Thousands demonstrated in England and France to demand a Middle East ceasefire.
- Israel bombed southern Beirut for third straight night and dropped six 2,000-lb bombs in the early morning.
- Israel bombed the last of the land routes into Lebanon, effectively cutting off all aid and relief supplies.
- In Tyre, Israeli forces from the sea attacked a five-story apartment building in the northern part of Tyre, killing at least four.
- Using an array of American weapons including four types of cluster bombs, Israel, in its heaviest bombardment of the war, hit more than 140 sites.
- US and France agreed to the wording of a draft UN resolution to try to end the conflict. The UN Security Council meets to discuss the draft.

AUGUST 6 (DAY 25)

- Israel bombed Tyre in the early morning. Five civilians were killed in the village of Ansar near the port of Sidon. Three more civilians were killed when Israel bombed their house in Naqoura.
- Bridges and roads in several locations in Lebanon were bombed and destroyed. Two roads linking the Bekaa Plain with Beirut and northern Lebanon were also hit, as well as two bridges in Akkar province.
- Also bombed were Beirut's southern neighborhoods killing at least twelve civilians in air strikes using American 500, 1,000 and 2,000-lb bombs as well as, according to Lebanese military officials, the vacuum or implosion bomb.

As if haunted by their past guilt, the Israeli military: organizers, suppliers, and facilitators of the September 16-18, 1982 massacre at Sabra and Shatila refugee camp in Beirut, returned to bomb near the scene of their crimes on August 6, 2006. The above photo is meant to honor the more than 1,000 victims buried in the mass grave under these commemorative signs. One of the researchers on the current project followed the English journalist Robert Fisk, the American

journalist Loren Jenkins, the incomparable and much loved and missed mediator and advocate, Janet Lee Stevens, and the Japanese Journalist Ryuchi Hirokawa into the camps that awful Sunday morning as the massacre was being discovered and reported to the world.

The gentleman on the right is named Joseph. He was one of the 150 Lebanese Forces militia Ariel Sharon sent into the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camp with American weapons and equipment, and who butched Palestinians and Lebanese during two days of carnage. A Maronite, Joseph admits much about the massacre, but when pressed for a detailed accounting of his own personal movements and specific actions he becomes vague. These days he hangs around this small grocery store near the Phalange HQ in Gemazzeh.

I don't remember all the details but I am not proud of what we did. Sometimes it seems that is was last month. Joseph pointed out to researchers at the Chef Restaurant in Aschifeyeh where, as Elie Hobeika's driver, he claims to have heard his bosses dinner partner Ariel Sharon tell Hobeika, following the September 2, 1982 assassination of Bachir Gemayal that Israel needed a favor. He also conducted a tour which included a visit to the warehouses on the Port where the Israelis would off load weapons and explosives and pick up bales of Bekaa hashish and Afghanistan heroin.

Joseph also stated that he and his friends knew there were no PLO fighters inside Sabra and the camp because they left during the late August 1983 evacuation with Arafat, and that both the Mossad and Phalange intelligence had been in the camps on a daily basis before the massarees were launched. There was virtually no resistance to their slaughter and his friends suffered only two casualties during the slaughter. Joseph also verified that some Israeli soldiers, as well as Mossad/Shahak agents were inside the camps during the killing. Joseph agreed with other recent reports of participants in the killing, published in Germany that Israeli soldiers both supplied and drove the bulldozers used to bury some of the corpses.

Joseph maintains that the Hobeika file is still safe in a Swiss bank vault, and, as has been widely speculated that Sharon ordered Hobeika's assassination in 2004 because Hobeika was in the process of turning states evidence to put Sharon before an international tribunal for war crimes to face what Sadaam Hussein recently faced.

Joseph also maintains that:

- Targeted sites also included Al Jabal, Al Rafeea,Al-Jarmak, Mahmoudiiya, Majra Al Leteni, al-Qlailch, Ras al Biyada, Mansouri, Mililiya, Shaitaye, Hosh and areas in Khiyam.
- Helicopter-borne Israeli Naval commandos attacked near the southern Lebanese city of Tyre overnight.
- US envoy Rice declare that attacks on Lebanon will continue for some time to come even after adoption of a UN Resolution aimed at ending the conflict.

AUGUST 7 (DAY 26)

- Israeli PM Olmert says no limits are placed on the IDF. He also announced that Israel was expanding its force in Lebanon up to 20 km over the border.
- Israel continued its air strikes in Tyre. In twenty-four hours, sixty Lebanese civilians were killed.
- F-16s attacked targets in southern Beirut and the eastern Bekaa valley. Ground fighting around Houla in the south of Lebanon and dozens of civilian were buried under the rubble the air bombardment including one house where seventeen civilians were hiding. Another house was bombed with thirthy civilians inside. One was killed.
- Israel air struck and killed at least seven civilians near the southern city of Sidon.
- An Israeli strike, using two US MK-84 GPS 2000-lb bombs hit a south Beirut street on the edge of the city's mostly Christian eastern district, killing 41 people and wounding sixty one. The strike hit a building near a mosque in the upscale southern suburb of Chiah.
- Lebanon's health minister said the Israeli offensive has killed 925 people, mostly civilians and left seventy-five missing and presumed dead as of the day before, August 6.
- The UN ceasefire vote was delayed by US and European failure to agree on the time for implementation of the ceasefire and the size of the UN force to keep the peace.

AUGUST 8 (DAY 27)

- The Arab League accused the UN and US of doing nothing to stop the killing saying the conflict will sow the seeds of hatred and extremism across the Middle East.
- Four Israeli air strikes in Kfar Shuba, al-Khiam, Kfar Kila and Ras al-latheen, using American 500 and 1,000-lb bombs.
- Israel attacked Bint Jbeil and Ramiya, Shihin and Ghaziye, killing nineteen civilians and wounding thirty-three. The attacks at Ghaziye occurred as mourners were burying villages killed in a bombing August 7.

- Israeli warships fired on Chiah over night.
- The Lebanese government estimated that at least fifthy people were killed in the Beirut District of Chiah.
- All humanitarian aid deliveries are halted in response to Israeli warnings that it would attack any moving vehicles south of the Litani River.

AUGUST 9 (DAY 28)

- Israeli piloted US Apache attack helicopters fired five US Tow missiles into Lebanon's larges Palestinian refugee camp, Ain El-Helweh, near Sidon. Israeli warships shell the entrance to the same camp. The attack kills two people and wounds five.
- The IDF announced that fifteen of its reserve soldiers were killed and fourthy wounded in fighting in the villages of Marjaayoun, Khiam and Kila. US officials describe this as a huge casualty rate for a small and strategically unimportant piece of real estate.
- Israel's security cabinet decided to expand its ground war.
- Israel bombed Haret Hreik within a mile of a funeral procession with 400 people.

Dahiya

- Israeli warships shelled Al Samayieh in Tyre.
- In the eastern Bekaa Valley five people were reported killed and two feared dead after an Israeli air raid. In other air strikes a two-story building in Mashghara was leveled killing 7 people from the same family trapped under debris. Five bodies were later pulled out and the remaining two relatives were feared dead.
- US F-16s continued to strike targets in the north, east and center of Lebanon, leaving at least eleven dead.
- Israeli navy ships fired at targets in southern Lebanon. Israeli troops landed by helicopter in the village of Kharayed during the night.
- Israel attacked in Aita al-Shaab. Dibil and west of the Galilee panhandle and along the Blue Line.
- France and the US held new talks on UN Security Council Resolution calling for an end to the carnage.
- Aid agencies reported that relief supplies are paralyzed by Israeli bombing of roads and bridges.

AUGUST 10 (DAY 29)

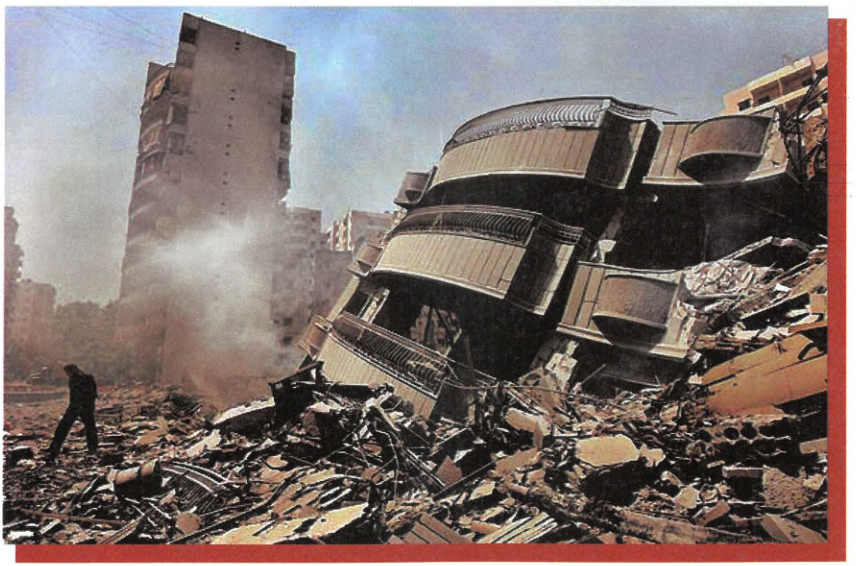
- Israeli troops advanced on Marjaayoun, Khiam, and Blatt while F-14s bomb and historic lighthouse in central Beirut. At Marjaayoun they occupted Lebanese army barracks.

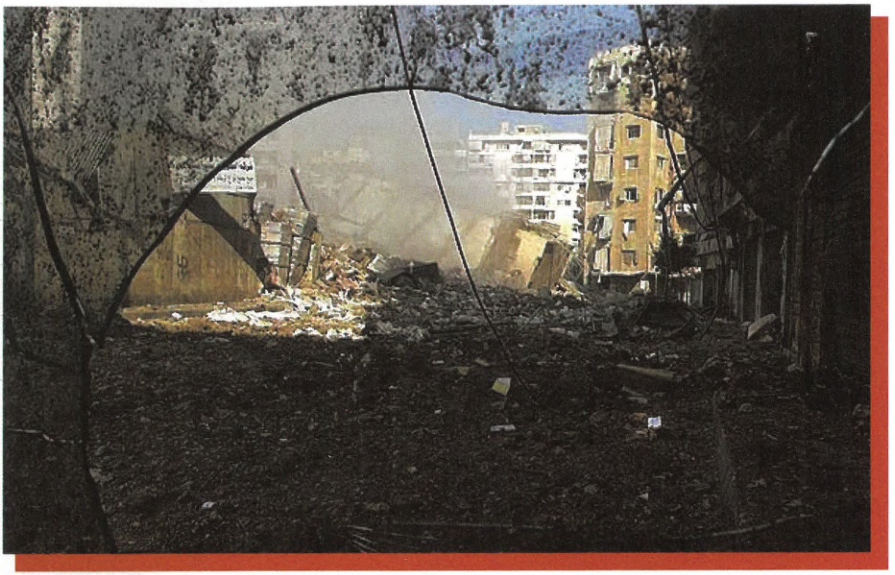
ıbed Beirut - Light House

- Israel targeted vehicles and roads and fired a missile on a minibus driving in the Bekaa Valley near the town of Rayak killing one person and wounding twelve.
- Another air strike targeted a road linking the city of Ba'albeck with the Syrian city of Homs.
- Israeli air attacks on Zahrani Bridge on the coastal highway near Nabatiye.
- Ceasefire talks stalled.
- Kofi Annan called for UN Security Council Resolution ordering a ceasefire by the end of the week.

AUGUST 11 (DAY 30)

- PM Olmert ordered an expanded Israeli ground offensive.
- Israel gave its approval for the UN to remove approximately 350 Lebanese soldiers held in their barracks by Israeli soldiers in Marjaayoun.
- Israel rejected a seventy-two hours truce proposed by Russian and continued bombing in Beirut and southern Lebanon with US artillery and 500, 1,000 and 2,000-lb bombs.





August 12, 2006: Israeli forces transporting and laying American landmines being brought in Lebanon and distributed on their APC near Maron el Ras. Shown are the M6-A1/A2 USA models.

Source: UNIFIL-Mine Action Coordination Centre; Tyre, Lebanon; Aug 12, 2006

The landmines shown above are illegal and Israel has signed the landmine convention which forbids their use.

Israel denies that it even has landmines, claiming it stopped using them in 1988, and insists it used none in Lebanon. On November 24, 2006 three European deminers were severely injured by the A-4 landmine which according to the UN was recently laid in southern Lebanon as Israel began its withdrawal form Lebanese territory. Recent press reports have indicated that some military sources have admitted use them in Lebanon, but Israeli spokesman Mark Regev, denies it and repeats that Israel has complied fully with international law and took extraordinary measures to protect the civilian population...more than any other nation takes and at great risk to our soldiers.

sraeli Number A-4 Landmine photographed near the South Lebanese Village of Dier Mimas on 11/24/06

Source: http://www.maccsl.org

On Friday November 24, 2006, three men working with the Armor Group in an effórt to clear Southern Lebanon of American cluster bombs were injured. One English and one Bosnian deminer each lost one foot. A Lebanese deminer was also injured.

The UN Mine Action Coordination Centre South Lebanon (MACC SL) sent an investigation team to the site and their investigation determined that they are is an Israeli Anti Personnel landmine field. The MACC investigation determined that the Mine Field was laid during the 2006 war. The Israeli emplacement of landmines is in clear violation of international law and the Land Mine Prohibition Treaty whish Israel has signed. How many other Israeli laid mines have been laid in southern Lebanon is not clear, but they constitute a clear and imminent threat to the population of Lebanon. Once more the UNIFIL has demanded of Israel the immediate provision of landmine field maps.

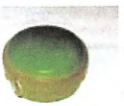
A second suspected Israeli A-4 landmine incident occurred on November 25, 2006 in the village of Ismaiieh in South Lebanon. In that incident a Lebanese deminer steped on a sub-surface bomblet and its detonation blew off part of his foot.

Shown below are photos of various landmines and US cluster bombs used by Israel in Lebanon during the past quarter century:

- At least twenty-six people were killed by Israeli attacks, including eleven people on a bridge in the north of the country and killed when a drone fired rockets on a convoy of cars leaving the south.
- Heavy Israeli shelling on sufh al-Bateekh, Baraisheet, Fhirbet Silim, Shaqra and Tibneen with US cluster bombs and 155mm fragmentation shells.
- Israeli aircraft bombed Qantara with 500 and 1,000-lb American fragmentation bombs
- Eight times Israeli aircraft bomb, with US missiles the convoy of more than 100 civilian vehicles carrying Lebanese causing at least eighteen casualties.
- Israel called on the US to speed up the delivery of the US M-26 MLRS rocket launchers which fired twelve rocket volleys each one of the twelve carrying 644 M-42 cluster bomblets.

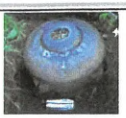
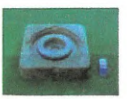
The United Nations Mine Action Coordination Center, UNIFIL , NGO's, as well as commercial and NGO De-mining Organizations in Southern Lebanon have confirmed to this researcher the following Anti Personnel (AP) mines found between 1978-2006.

A. Anti Personnel (AP) mines:

GAYATA 64 (Hungarain)	**MI APDV 59 (France)**	**MI APID 51 (France)**	**M 14 (USA)**
No. 3 (Israel)	**No. 4 (Israel)**	**No. 4 Enhanced* (Israel)**	**No. 4A (Israel)**
No. 10 (Israel)	**M 411 (Portugal)**	**PRB M 35 (Belgium)**	**PMN 2* (Soviet Union)**
 **Type 72 A* (China)**	**Type 72 B* (China)**	**VS 50 (Italy)**	**M 2 (USA)**
M 3 (USA)	**M 16 A2 (USA)**	**No. 6 (Israel)**	**SPM (Soviet Union)**

The same organizations have found the following Anti Tank (AT) mines:

B. Anti Tank (AT) Mines:

MI AC ID 51 (France)	 MI AC ID 47 (France)	M6 A1/A2 (USA)	M7 A2 (USA)
M 15 (USA)	No. 6 (Israel)	PRB M3/ M3A1 (Belgium)	TC 6* (Italy)
TMA 3 (Yugolasvia)	TMA 5/5A (Yugolasvia)	TM 46/ TMN 46 (Soviet Union)	TM 62 M (Soviet Union)
Light (France)	NR 25 (Holland)	 M 19 (USA)	

C. Cluster Bombs:

M 42* (USA)	M 43 (USA)	BLU 18 B (USA)
MK 118 MOD 0 &1* (USA)	BLU 26 B (USA)	BLU 63 B (USA)

AUGUST 11, 2006

"MASSACRE AT MARJAYOUN"

A special report by ***Robert Fisk***

There are few marks on the road where the missiles hit the innocents of Marjayoun. But there are the memories of what happened immediately after the Israeli air strike on the convoy of 3,000 people after dark on 11 August: a 16-year old Christian girl screaming I want my Daddy as her father's mutilated body lay a few meters away from her; the town mukhtar discovering that his wife, Collette, had been decapitated by one of the Israeli missiles; the Lebanese Red Cross volunteer who went into the darkness of wartime Lebanon to give water and sandwiches to the refugees and was cut down by another missile, and whose friends could not reach him to save his life.

There are those who break down when they recall the massacre at Joub Jannine - and there are the Israelis who gave permission to the refugees to leave Marjayoun, who specified what roads they should use, and who then attacked them with piloless, missile-firing drone aircraft. Five days after being asked to account for the tragedy, they had last night still not bothered to explain how they killed at least seven refugees and wounded 36 others just three days before a UN ceasefire came into effect.

It is one of the untold stories of the Israeli-Hizbollah war; there are others-infinitely more bloody-but the ultimate tragedy of these largely Christian refugees involved a raft of Lebanese officers and ministers, the Prime Minister of Lebanon, the US ambassador and the Israeli Defence Ministry.

It all began on 10 August when the Israelis staged a small ground offensive into Lebanon after a month of massive bombing of Lebanese villages in the south. Brig-Gen Adnan Daoud, commanding a mixed force of 350 Lebanese paramilitary police and soldiers at the barracks in the pretty Christian town of Marjayoun, found a man at the gate at 9am, an Israeli officer calling himself Col Ashaya. Brig-Gen Daoud, whose men were not fighting the Israelis, called the Lebanese Interior Minister, Ahmad Fatfat, who endorsed - Fatfat's word-Daoud's decision to let him in. Ashaya spent four hours looking round the barracks to assure himself that there

were no Hizbollah members there. Then he left. Daoud put a white flag on the guardhouse.

But at 4 p.m. that afternoon, an Israeli tank unit approached the barracks and started to shoot their way in. Daoud was again told by Fatfat to let in the Israelis who, according to Daoud, informed him that «we are the occupiers and we are in charge». An Israeli officer then locked Daoud into a room.

Thousands of Christians in Marjayoun now feared for their lives. According to several aid workers, Hizbollah were firing rockets from behind the town>s hospital, which was immediately abandoned by the Lebanese Red Cross. The inhabitants believed, with good reason, that Hizbollah>s missiles would be redirected from Israel on to Marjayoun itself now that the town had been taken over by Israeli troops and tanks.

Locked in his room, Daoud now called Fatfat again and Fatfat called the Lebanese Prime Minister, Fouad Siniora, who, by chance, was talking to the US ambassador to Beirut, Jeffrey Feltman. Feltman - either via the State Department or directly to the US embassy in Tel Aviv - told his diplomats to call the Israeli Defence Ministry; and they swiftly replied that there should be no Israeli troops in Daoud>s barracks. But the Israelis in Marjayoun refused to believe what Daoud told them.

Marjaayoun's inhabitants, however, were now in a state of panic and Daoud called Fatfat at 7p.m. to start arranging for a refugee convoy north from Marjayoun to Beirut. The Lebanese government, according to Fatfat, called the United Nations command in southern Lebanon at 5am the next day, 11 August, to seek clearance from the Israelis to allow the thousands of refugees to be convoyed north. The UN, according to the government in Beirut, subsequently notified Gen Abdulrahman Shaiti, assistant to the head of Lebanese military intelligence, that the convoy had permission from the Israelis to travel.

Two UN armoured vehicles, crewed by Indian troops, subsequently turned up in Marjayoun to find at least 3,000 people, including Shia Muslim refugees from the surrounding, devastated villages, waiting to leave. We had a total

agreement that they would go out to the Bekaa [Valley] from [Alain] Pellegrini [the UN commander], Fatfat says. The road was also agreed. But there were delays. Part of the road ahead had been heavily bombed and had to be repaired. It was 4 p.m. before the convoy crept slowly out of Marjaayoun, Daoud's 350 soldiers in the lead. The UN vehicles then abandoned the convoy at Hasbaya, the northern limit of UN operations, leaving the refugees dangerously exposed. The UN had already warned the Lebanese authorities that it was late for the convoy to leave.

They went so slowly, I was enraged, a relief worker recalls. People at friendly villages would come out and give the refugees food and water and want to talk to them and people would stop to greet old friends as if this was tourism. The convoy was only going at five miles an hour. It was getting dark. The 3,000 refugees now trailed up the Bekaa after nightfall and were approaching the ancient Kifraya vineyards at Joub Jannine when disaster struck them at 8 p.m.

The first bomb hit the second car, Karamallah Dagher, a reporter for Reuters, said. I was half way back down the road and my friend Elie Salami was standing there, asking me if I had any spare gasoline. That's when the second missile struck and Elie's head and shoulders were blown away. His daughter Sally is 16 and she jumped from the car and cried out: I want my Daddy, I want my Daddy. But he was gone. Speaking of the killings yesterday, Dagher breaks down and cries. He tried to carry his arthritic mother from his own car but she complained that he was hurting her so he put her back in the passenger seat and sat beside her, waiting for a violent death which mercifully never came. But it arrived for Collette Makdissi Al-Rashed, wife of the mukhtar, who was beheaded in her Cherokee jeep, and for a member of the Tahta family from from Deir Mimas, and for two other refugees, and for a Lebanese soldier and for 35-year-old Mikhael Jbaili, the Red Cross volunteer from Zahle, who was blasted into the air when a rocket exploded behind him.

There was panic, the Marjaayoun mayor, Fouad Hamra, said. Many people drove away. They had a clearance; everything should have been OK. If Hizbollah was supposed to be carrying weapons at night, they would have been travelling in the opposite direction!

Who flew the drones? An Israeli soldier of the invasion force? A nameless officer in the Israel Defence Ministry in Tel Aviv? The Israelis knew a civilian convoy was on the road. Yet they sent their pilotless machines to attack it. Why? Last night, the Israeli Defence Ministry had not responded to inquiries from reporters who asked for the answer last Friday.

AUGUST 12 (DAY 31)

- UN Secretary General Kofi Annan announces that a ceasefire will come into effect at 0500GMT.
- Israel began a final seventy-two hour bombardment of Lebanon in what is widely described as an all out punishment of Lebanon before the commencement of the UN ceasefire which was announced on August 11.
- Israel expanded its ground offensive in south Lebanon losing twenty-four soldiers in its heaviest singe-day toll.
- Hezbollah accepted the UN ceasefire.
- Israel launched more than ninety air strikes using US F-16s in southern Lebanon, including the village of Anduriya and the Bekaa valley overnight.
- Israel attacked with Tow missiles the village of Rashef killing fifteen.
- Israeli air strikes in Tyre with US fragmentation bombs destroyed the electricity service in the area. In Sidon, the power station was also destroyed.
- Israel also attacked, near A-Hiam village, nine bridges and access routes.
- Israel began a final seventy-two hour campaign of bombing which triples the number of bombs dropped on Lebanon as well as firing thousands of American clusters munitions using the MRLS system which fired 688 bomblets per shell or 7,728 M-42 bomblets per volley. Israel also fires hundred of 155mm artillery shells which contain 88 M-42 bomblets.
- US Roman Catholic Cardinal Theodore McCarrick demands and end to the attack on Lebanon which has killed more children than soldiers.

AUGUST 13 (DAY 33)

- Israel continued its massive attack on Lebanon with American cluster munitions as well as doubled the number of American 500, 1,000, and 2,000-lb bombs.
- Israel accepted the UN ceasefire and immediately intensified its bombing and destruction of Lebanon.
- PM Olmert okays a clear drop of Israeli paratroopers in key areas along the Litani River in order to hold land, just before the ceasefire, and to insist that the UN force extend from the Litani south. In a near disaster for Israel, their airlifted troops were immediately surrounded by Lebanese resistance units and would likely have been destroyed if a ceasefire had not been honored by Hezbollah.
- Israeli air strikes on Burj Al-Shamali and Ein Al-Helweh Palestinian refugee camps.
- Early in the morning at least three Lebanese civilians were killed and

seven wounded in an Israeli air strike on the southern Lebanese town of Ali Al-Nahri in the Bekaa Valley. Ghandour was also attacked as Israeli soldiers flee.

- Israel again asked the US to speed up the delivery of MLRS cluster bomb delivery systems.
- Israel attacked the town of Brital and kills eight people dead and sixteen wounded. Also bombed were Jammaliya and the city of Baalbek
- In all, at least thirteen civilians were killed as Israel increases its offensive.
- Israel General Shaul Mofez declares: We must admit that we were defeated in this war.
- Israel fired thousands of US cluster bombs across the south of Lebanon in hundred of air and artillery strikes. Former Israeli PM Ehud Barak issued a statement: It is time to do all we an to destroy as much as we can of the infrastructure in the next 12 or 13 hours, and then we'll see what is next.

AUGUST 14 (DAY 34)

- Early in the morning before the 05:00 ceasefire, Israel attacked Lebanon across the south in the most concentrated bombing since the conflict began running up to the UN ceasefire coming into effect.
- Tens of thousands of American cluster bombs were dropped and fired by Israel across the south of Lebanon.
- At 05:00 guns fall silent, although with isolated incidents of fire reported across southern Lebanon.
- Israeli air strikes in Baalbek kill seven people thirty minutes before truce.
- Israel's air and land blockade and ban on road traffic as displaced Lebanese start to return home.
- Israel announced that despite the UNSC resolution 1701, it will maintain its air and sea blockade of Lebanon.
- Displaced Lebanese began to return to their homes as UN warns of danger of unexploded ordnance including hundreds of thousands of US cluster bombs, artillery shells, and 500, 1,000 and 2,000-lb fragmentation bombs littering the south.

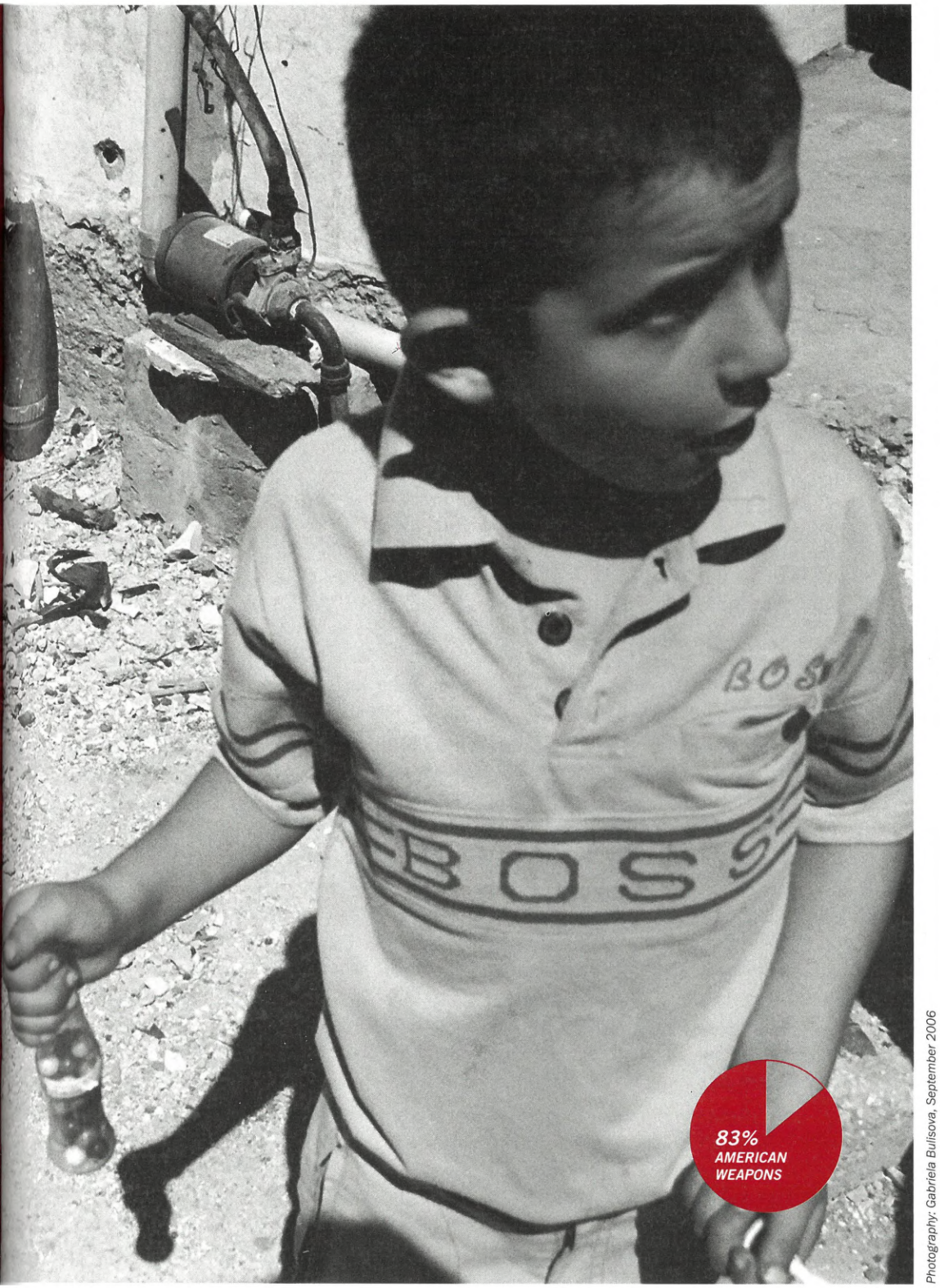
- The number of civilians killed during Israel's final seventy-two hour bombing rampage is estimated by the Lebanese government to have exceeded 300.

1.5 MILLION U.S CLUSTER BOMBLETS REMAIN IN THE SOUTH CAUSING

3-5 CASUALTIES EACH WEEK 35% ARE CHILDREN

More than 98% of all recorded killed were civilians carrying out their normal daily livelihood activities in places they go everyday.
100 towns and villages were hit.
90% of the cluster bombs were fired during the last 72 hours
Today, only 12% of the villages are safe

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: KID IN AAITA EL-CHAAB PLAYING IN HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD IN FRONT OF A BOMB, SEPTEMBER 2006



Photography: Gabriela Bulisova, September 2006

Weapons in Israel's Arsenal Whose Use Is Unconfirmed

"...what exists in Israelis consciousness is not the millions of cluster bombs—that is, the flying mines—or the tens of millions of bombs and shells and lethal bullets stored in our arms warehouses and our gun barrels and the bellies of our helicopters and planes. Although the amount of such explosives is measured in the millions of tons, it is the 20 tons of explosives and the few thousand rifles [in Gaza] that permeate the Israeli consciousness.

—Amira Hass, what are 20 Tons of Explosives?" Ha'aretz, October 18, 2006

During and following Israel's thirty-four-day assault on Lebanon, representatives of the media, NGO employees, relief workers, medical staff, and the general public sometimes described weapons they believed to have been used by Israel, but as of November 1, these reports remain unconfirmed. These weapons fall into two categories: 1) weapons not used, and 2) weapons whose use is suspected but unconfirmed. Weapons not used include:

- Direct-energy weapons
- Chemical weapons, not including white phosphorus
- Biological weapons
- Poisonous gas
- Toy weapons
- Researchers, heard reports of, but did not find compelling evidence to support claims of the use of incendiary weapons such as flame throwers or napalm.
- The United Nations Human Rights Council, Investigative Commission,

interviewed individuals who spoke of witnessing human bodies that apparently simply vaporized. The claim has not been proved or credited by researchers.

- Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs)

Researchers found no compelling that American-made or designed IEDs were used widely by Israel in Lebanon in 2006, but there may have been some use around Deir Mimas, three km from the Lebanon/Palestine border, in the form of an Israeli anti-personnel (AP) No. 4 landmine. According to the United Nations Mine Action Co-ordination Center in south Lebanon (UNMACC), an internationally banned land mine exploded on Friday November 24, 2006 when deminers from the ArmorGroup, a London-based global risk-management firm clearing mainly US cluster munitions went to investigate an explosion. Two deminers had to have feet amputated after inadvertently stepping on the landmines while trying to rescue a sheppard, some of whose goats were killed shortly before, by explosive devices. A medic who went to their aid was also injured.

- Fuel air explosives

Researchers learned of allegations from witnesses that the IDF used fuel air explosives during the July-August war of 2006. Their use was speculated upon in south Beirut. This weapon is designed for targets such as minefields, armour, and aircraft parked in the open as well as vehicles. Its vacuum effect is particularly useful against hardened bunkers. No use was substantiated by researchers associated with this Report.

Mine clearing fuel-air explosives were suspected to be used in areas thought to be planted with IEDs in south Lebanon. The fuel-air countermine called carpet is employed by the Israeli corps of engineers and is comprised of small rockets fired from a stand-off range, deploying highly explosive aerosol over the suspect areas. The explosion of this mixture develops high pressure impulse which effectively kills fuses or sets off explosive devices in the affected area. Researchers could not confirm this use.

Weapons whose use is suspected but unconfirmed are described in more detail below.

DENSE INERT METAL EXPLOSIVE (DIME)

Developed by the US military and known to be in Israel's arsenal, the DIME is an experimental weapon containing tungsten—a metal capable of conducting very high temperatures and considered highly carcinogenic—which produces a powerful and often lethal blast within a radius of about four meters.

According to a recent report by a team of Italian journalists, an Israeli-developed device similar to the DIME may have been used in recent months by the IDF in Gaza. The projectiles are believed to have been fired by Heron and Hermes drones. The Israeli military, however, will not confirm its use of the weapon, despite numerous accounts of its deployment given by witnesses, victims, and medical personnel.

In Gaza, Dr. Habas al-Wahid, head of the emergency center at the Shuhada al-Aqsa Hospital, in Deir al-Balah, told *Ha'aretz* that the limbs of the injured were sliced from their bodies as if a saw was used to cut through the bone. Where DIME weapons are used, doctors usually find small entry wounds and a powder on the victim's body and in his or her internal organs. The known types of injuries caused include burns near the point of the amputation with no indications that the dismemberment was caused by metal fragments.

Reports from Najem Hospital in Tyre and identical report gathered by the Tyre Governmental Hospital and the Hiram Hospital in Tyre speak of injuries with burns that had never been seen before and could not be explained. The medical witnesses in the main had extensive experience with various types of burns in other conflicts. Researchers have credited their testimony. Researchers believe DIME weapons may have been used on July 19 at Aita Al Chaab because two victims who were taken to Tyre hospitals, with symptoms described above were killed at Aita Al Chaab.

It should be born in mind that if such weapons were used, they were used illegally under international humanitarian law. Protocol I of the Conventional Weapons Convention, to which Israel is a signatory, prohibits the use of any weapon the primary effect of which is to injure by fragments which cannot be detected by X-rays.

DEPLETED URANIUM (DU)

Both American and Israeli governmental sources acknowledge that the Israeli army has within its American supplied arsenal munitions that can be equipped with depleted uranium warheads,

For more than thirty years, depleted uranium—the name for Uranium 238, the element left behind when the fissionable material is extracted from Uranium 235 for use in nuclear reactors and weapons—has been a common component of conventional weapons. Seventy percent denser than lead, the material is used to strengthen bullet, rocket, and bomb casings intended to penetrate armored tanks and fortified positions. DU is also pyrophoric: when it hits its target, it liquefies and spontaneously ignites.

DU constitutes a weapon of mass destruction (WMD), and as such, its use violates both US military law as well as the Geneva and Hague conventions. DU weapons are indiscriminate in that their carcinogenic remnants affect both civilians and combatants. When a tank-busting bomb explodes, the DU burns at close to 6,000 degrees centigrade and produces a radioactive cloud of carcinogenic uranium-oxide dust. When the dust is inhaled, it sticks to the fibers of the lungs and kidneys and produces tumors, hemorrhages, leukemia, and severely compromises the immune system. DU's half-life is four and a half billion years.

The use of bunker-busting bombs containing DU in Lebanon this past summer has been confirmed. The use of DU-hardened antitank rockets, known to be in Israel's arsenal, has been alleged but not proved, as has the use of other unknown uranium-based munitions. To put these allegations to rest, the American and Israeli governments should fully account for US weapons shipped and deployed.

UN INVESTIGATES ISRAEL'S USE OF SECRET DU WEAPONS

In July 2006 the United States rushed at least 100 GBU-28 bunker-buster bombs to Israel. This bomb was hastily developed the by US military and proved useful in Iraq in 1991 against deep fortified targets. The bombs contain depleted-

uranium warheads and can penetrate into the ground up to 130-feet deep before exploding.

GBU-28 bunker buster with Depleted Uranium Warhead
(Israel was rushed 100 of these from the US on July 25, 2006)

The bombs are known to have been dropped later that month on Beirut's southern suburbs, Qana, Srifa, and Aita Al Chaab, and may have been used on other targets. As of December 1, 2006, it was not clear how many of these were used or how much, if any DU they contained and whether Decontaminates Lebanon.

Two bomb craters, in the southern Lebanese villages of Khiam and At-Teri, also raised the question of whether Israel had used munitions containing natural or enriched, as opposed to the less radioactive depleted, uranium. Soil samples taken from the craters were tested. Chris Busby, the British Scientific Secretary of the European Committee on Radiation Risk, told the UK newspaper *The Independent* that the samples showed elevated radiation signatures, meaning levels of radiation above those that depleted uranium would produce. He offered two possible reasons for the contamination: One, that the weapon was some novel small experimental nuclear fission device or other experimental weapon and two, that the weapon was bunker-busting conventional uranium penetrate weapon employing enriched uranium rather than depleted uranium. This second scenario is supported, says Busby, by a photograph of the explosion of the first bomb, which produced black clouds consistent with the kind that might result from burning either depleted or enriched uranium.

According to Chris Bellamy, a professor of military science at England's Canfield University, the soil samples present an enigma. They confirm the presence of uranium isotopes and so far showed that they were enriched, but apparently not much. Soil samples from Khiam had 108 parts U-238 (depleted) to one of U-235

(enriched), or about one percent. Because the Khiam sample was very small, only 25 grams, he said, contamination could have obscured a higher degree of enrichment, or the uranium in the Khiam projectile could have been spent nuclear fuel.

What did Israel use to bomb Khiam and At-Tiri? Said Bellamy: *At worst it's some sort of experimental weapon with an enriched uranium component the purpose of which we don't yet know. At best—if you can say that—it shows a remarkably cavalier attitude to the use of nuclear waste products.*

According to the Busby's report, The health effects on the local civilian population following the use of large uranium penetrators and the large amounts of respirable uranium oxide particles in the atmosphere, are likely to be significant... we recommend that the area is examined for further traces of these weapons with a view to clean up. The UN is conducting an investigation and will release its finding in mid-December.

Were DU-Hardened Antitank Rockets Used?

A suspected, but to date unproven GBU-28 'bunker-buster' with depleted uranium warhead near Maron Al-Ras. Israel has told its friends in the 110th Congress in Washington that they need 2,000 more for a possible bombing attack on Iran, Syria and Lebanon.

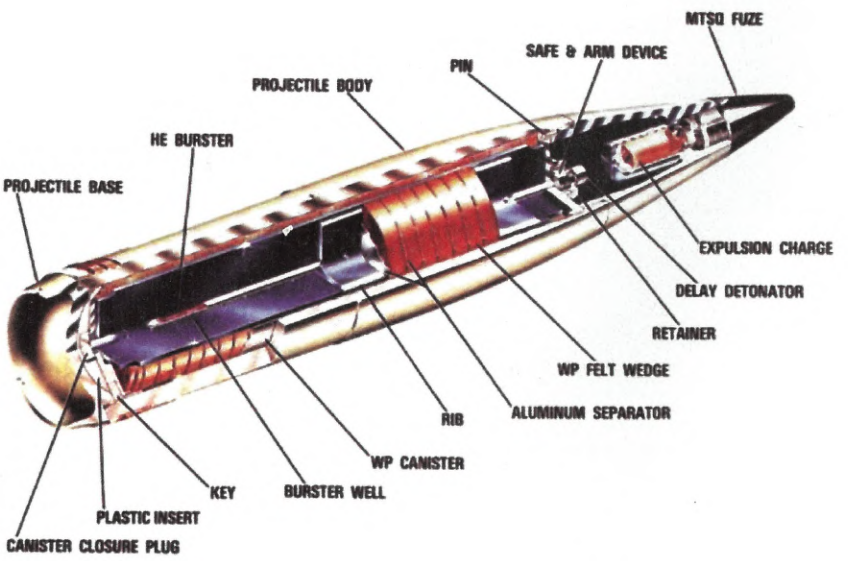
Reports by Dr. Ali Kobeissi, a well-know Lebanese American nuclear physicist, and Beirut's *Daily Star* English-language newspaper and other media outlets led to speculation that DU-hardened antitank rockets, known to be in Israel's arsenal since the 1973 October War, were used. Kobeissi's Geiger-counter tests revealed the presence of traces of elevated uranium. Kobeissi's found two soil samples which showed 700 nanosieverts per hour which is remarkably higher radioactivity than the average in the area of Lebanon which is approximately 35 nSv/hr. Further research by a Dutch team, however, contradicted those initial findings, and Kobeissi concurred with the Dutch team's results. Demining and ordnance-clearing teams working across southern Lebanon have not found DU antitank shells. But speculation persists. According to a report by Italy's RAI News agency, Israel fired 105mm DU hardened tank projectile containing 10 lbs of depleted uranium.

It is worthy of note that a team from the United Nations Environment Programmer (UNEP) conducted a survey of thirthy-two sites south and north of the Litiani River from September 30 to October 21, 2006. The UNEP samples showed no evidence of penetrators or metal made of DU or other radioactive material. Nor did the UN or researchers associated with this project find DU shrapnel. UNEP also reports that it found no evidence of enriched uranium, in contradiction of earlier speculation. While not finding evidence of DU or enriched uranium, UNEP did confirm the use of white phosphorous fired from both mortar and artillery shells. More investigation is required.

WHITE PHOSPHORUS ARTILLERY ROUNDS AND MORTARS

During and after the war, doctors in southern Lebanon have said they suspected some of the burns they were seeing were being caused by phosphorus bombs. Indeed, photographs of civilians in a Tyre hospital with burn wounds consistent with phosphorous munitions. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in 2006

Israel started many fires and many victims of their attack suffered burns with



Projectile, Smoke, WP, 155mm: M825A1

White phosphorous Burns

Above photo shows 80mm white phosphorus mortar and white phosphorus canister used by Israel near Eita el Chaab

White phosphorus viewed by researchers on 8/14/06 in the towns of Al-Saksakiyeh and Al-Loubiyed, fifteen km south of Sidon.

White Phosphorus (WP) weapons disperse elements which ignite during contact with oxygen and cause severe burns and agonizing deaths. It is a translucent wax-like substance with a pungent smell that, once ignited, creates intense heat and smoke. Burning fragments can stick to clothing and skin and fragments of burning phosphorous become buried in wounds and are very difficult to extinguish. The chemical also seeps into the bloodstream and causes respiratory problems and other ailments in victims.

White phosphorus, nicknamed by some in the US army shake and bake is also used to start fires and light an area during nighttime bombing. Israel used WP shells widely in its 1982 siege of Beirut.

On July 16, 2006, Lebanese Emile Lahoud and Lebanese military and intelligence sources stated that the IDF had used white phosphorous incendiary bombs against civilian targets on villages in the Arquob area in southern Lebanon. Another report, which has been documented by UNIFIL officers, indicated that on July 16, as citizens were gathering to join the evacuation convoy under UNIFIL supervisions at Marwaheen no fewer than 12 white phosphorous rounds were fired directly at the assembling civilians.
Another incident of white phosphorous occurred at Aita ech Chaab, where researchers visited two housed which had been badly burnt.

Another incident of white phosphorous occurred in Maron Al-Ras at the home of Farris Mustapha. Mr. Mustapha refused the IDF order to leave his home as the Israeli army invaded and occupied his town for nearly three weeks, including ten days following the ceasefire. His house received direct 155mm artillery rounds and was set on fire on July 25, 2006.

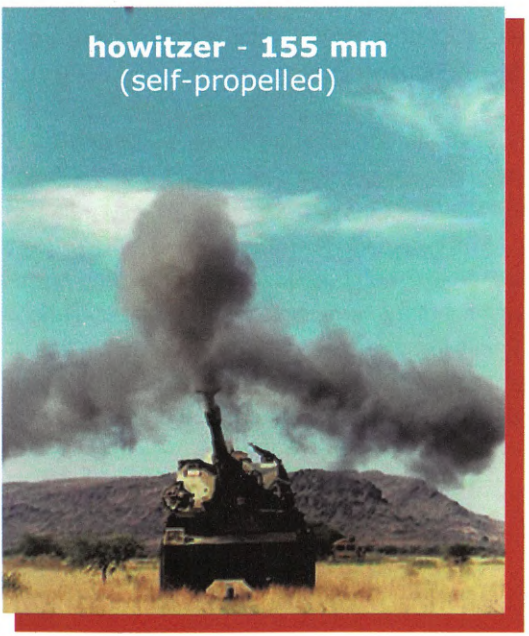
According to an admission by an IDF commander, Israel used white phosphorous in 2006. This claim is corroborated by the testimony of several soldiers in the IDF artillery corps. One commander told *Ha'aretz* that he saw several trucks with white phosphorous shells en route to artillery batteries in Lebanon. Another testified that his unit was ordered to fire everything they had.

Israeli pallets of US 155mm HE M483A cluster bomb artillery shells containing 88 M-42 bombs near the Blue Line south of Maron Al-Ras on July 25, 2006. All of them were fired into other villages in the south on that day. The shells on the left contain white phosphorus which according to Israeli sources were also fired on August 10-14, 2006.

The UN Environment Program team, seconded to Lebanon to survey environmental damage did confirm the use of white phosphorous from both artillery shells and mortars.

The third protocol of the Geneva Conventions bans the use of white phosphorus as an incendiary weapon against civilian populations and in air attacks against military forces in civilian areas. Whether a country has ratified the protocol, which Israel (and the US) has not, it is nevertheless bound to its provisions because they are accepted as international standards and part of customary international law.

155H
TNT
M107


howitzer - 155 mm
(self-propelled)

The American *Book of War*, published in 1999, which established the rules of war for the American army, states: The ground war law prohibits the use of phosphorous against human targets. The international pact on prohibiting flammable weapons bans the use of phosphorous against civilian targets and against military targets found amid large civil populations.

According to a report in *Ha'aretz* on October 22, the IDF made use of phosphorus shells during the war in attacks against military targets in open ground. Yakov Ederly, Israel's minister for government-parliamentary relations, added, this is not a personal opinion; this is what the military told us. He added that the army maintains that phosphorus shells are a legitimate weapon and is not forbidden by international law. The IDF used this type of munitions according to the rules of international law.

Several Israeli-fired white phosphorus shells were found by researchers in Zone 6, an area of south-central Lebanon around the city of Nabatiyeh, just north of the Litani River. Ordnance clearance of Zone 6, however, was not complete at the outbreak of the 2006 war; therefore, it is possible that these shells, 16-millimeter mortars commonly deployed by Israel in prior conflicts, may date from before 2006.

RED PHOSPHORUS ARTILLERY ROUNDS

Smoke-producing, red phosphorus shells are often used to obscure troop movements. It was used by Israel during the summer of 2006 in more than thirthy-five locations in southern Lebanon and is considered by many to be more humane than white phosphorus, because it reignites at much higher temperatures, 240°C as opposed to white phosphorus, which reignites at about 40°C. For this reason, red phosphorus, which stores better and doesn't deteriorate as quickly as white phosphorus, is increasingly replacing white phosphorus. Red phosphorus is not illegal as long as it is not used against civilian.

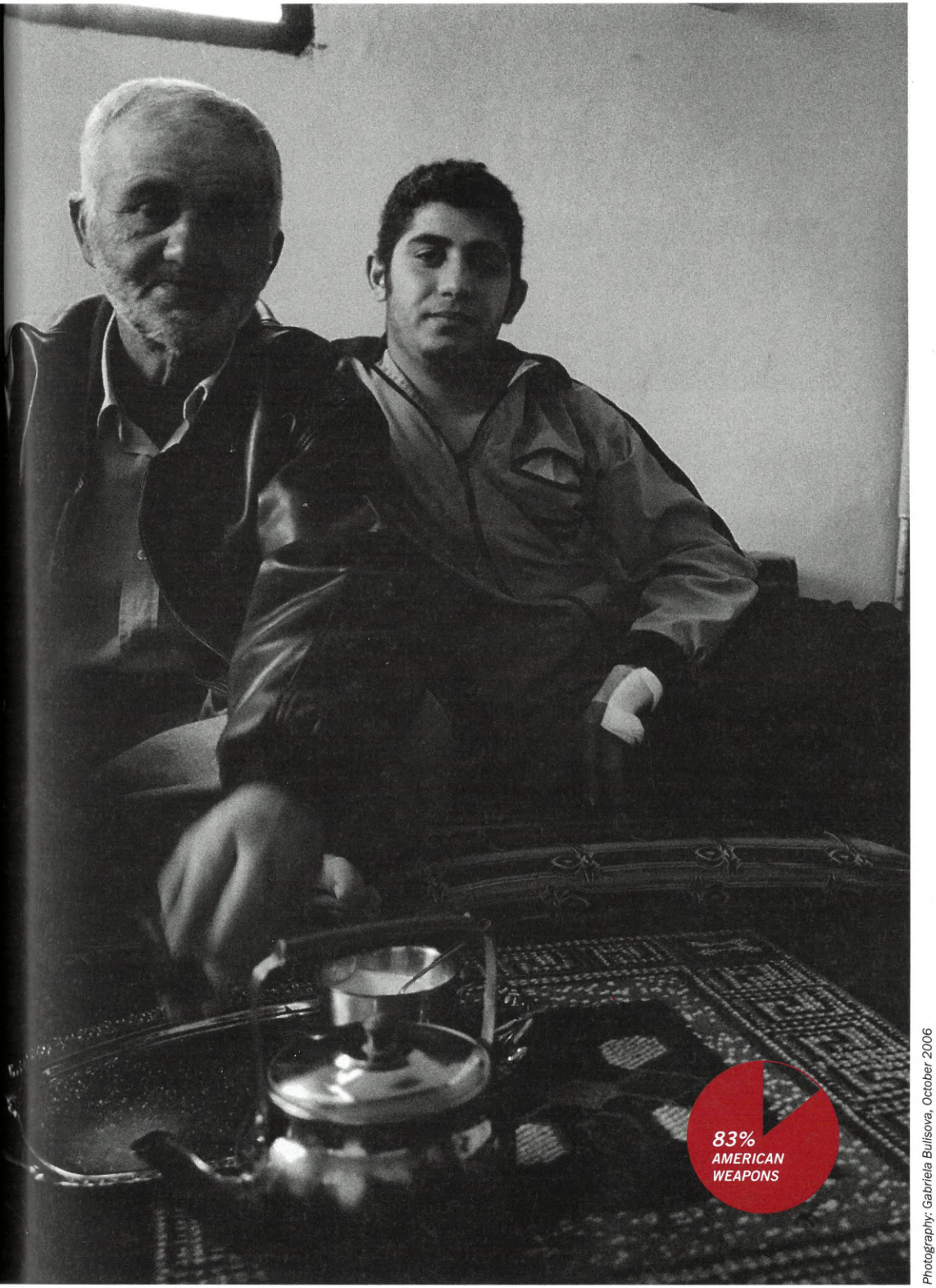
4.5 MILLION CLUSTER BOMBLETS WERE DROPPED ON LEBANON

1.5 MILLION REMAIN UNEXPLODED IN THE SOUTH

"IT IS AN ONGOING WAR"

SAYS ALYA HAYEK A CLUSTER BOMB VICTIM FROM AADCHIT

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: *MOHAMAD MEHDI A CLUSTER BOMB VICTIM, WITH HIS FATHER IN NABATIYEH, OCTOBER 2006*



Photography: Gabriela Bulisova, October 2006

"We've -- you know, we've made it clear that we care about wanton destruction."

George W. Bush, July 29, 2006

PICTURE ABOVE: UNEXPLODED MK-84 2,000-LB BOMB FOUND IN A VILLAGE NEAR TYRE ON AUGUST 15, 2006 WHEN THE FAMILY RETURNED FROM SANIEYEH PARK IN BEIRUT WHEN THEY HAD JOINED HUNDREDS OF OTHER REFUGEES DURING THE 33 DAY CONFLICT.

Photography: United Nations Environmental Program

III. INSANE AND MONSTEROUS: THE LAST SEVENTY-TWO HOURS

Photo courtesy of the United Nations Environomental Program: Beirut's Southern Suburbs

Virtual Occupation: Five US Cluster Bombs for Each Person in Lebanon from the Litani to Palestine.

"How do we realistically believe that a continuation of the systematic destruction of an American friend, a country and people of Lebanon, is going to enhance America's image and give us the trust and credibility to lead and mount a sustained peace effort in the Middle East? The sickening slaughter, Mr. President, must end now. This madness must stop.

Senator Chuck Hagel (R-Nebraska) September 8, 2006

As researchers in Lebanon have learned, along with the United Nations and dozens of human rights organizations studying the area, Israel dropped nearly 4.8 million US cluster munitions between the Litani River and the border with Palestine. Depending on the type and conditions on the ground when they landed, as many as 40-70% did not explode, thereby becoming landmines.

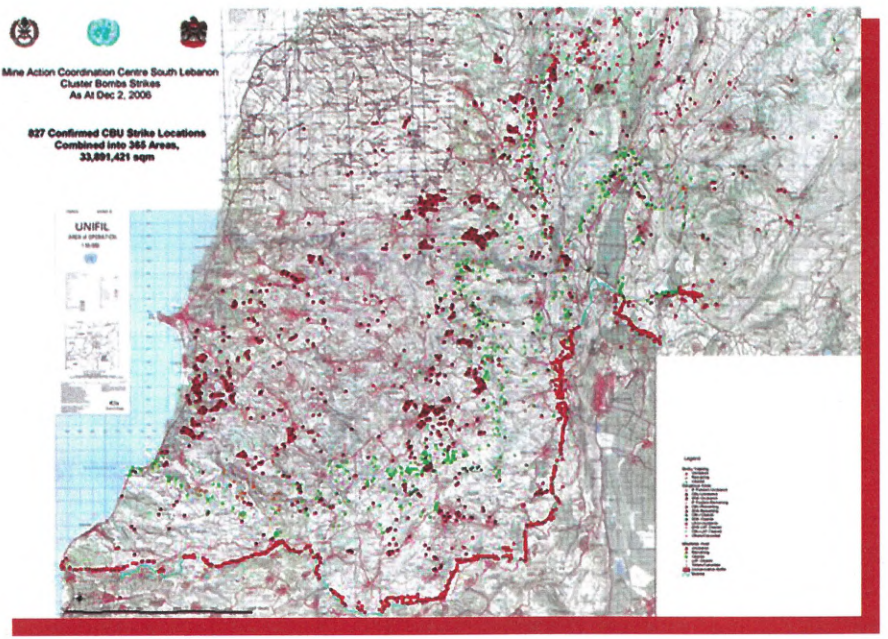
Analysts from China and Tehran to the US Pentagon and around the world are trying to decipher why there was such intense carpet bombing by Israel when the Lebanese resistance was nowhere to be seen and there were regular reports from IDF military intelligence to Tel Aviv that Lebanese civilians were being slaughtered.

ISRAEL'S USE OF AMERICAN CLUSTER BOMBS IN THE SOUTH OF LEBANON AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS, (July-August 2006)

The chart below illustrates some of the dates, places and site descriptions where the United Nations, the Lebanese army, Hezbollah humanitarian workers,

Lebanese farmers and citizens of all ages are finding American cluster bombs in civilian areas.

The chart does not include cluster bombs discovered and cleared by Hezbollah even though Hezbollah moved quickly following the August 14, 2006 cease fire to remove threats in remote areas as well as towns and villages. The researchers responsible for this Report reached the hypothesis that many Lebanese contacted Hezbollah people because they are trusted and easily accessible. It was not necessary that an individual have a phone, electricity or transportation in order to report their problem to the Lebanese government or having to work their way up the ladder from village Muktar to regional, national and international bureaucracy to get help.



The above UN Map depicts the locations of more than 900 confirmed CBU strike locations in the UNIFIL area of operation where American cluster bombs were used against civilians in Lebanon over and ares of more that 35,000,000 sq meters.

Based on interviews with more than 600 villagers, researchers tentatively concluded that, for the first two weeks after the beginning of the ceasefire, Hezbollah ordnance experts accounted for removal of unexploded ordnance (UXOs) in numbers equal to that of the others mine removal personnel combined.Some of their efforts would have been in the villages listed below.

As with the 1982 study noted above, investigators quickly learned that those who know most about the ordnance are those who were its targets on the ground. In village after village, people looking for unexploded only had to ask teens and pre-teens because like their counterparts everywhere these young people know what goes on in their neighborhoods.

One example is a gentleman named Abu Ali Ahmad, also known as Lebanon's freelance de-miner. During the 1982 Israeli invasion Abu Ali, a Palestinian, was with Fateh's fedayeen, fighting Israel. Having trained in Algeria and Tunisia, he is putting his learned skills to good use and offers his services free to the people of south Lebanon. Many local farmers and home owners seek his assistance because, given the enormous task ahead which it is estimated will require at least one and one half years, there can be a long wait to get help from deminers working for the UN or the Lebanese army.

Abu Ali gathers up as many of 150 of the M-42s, M-77, MZD-2s or M-85s, or bomb live unit 63s, defuses them and turns them over to the Lebanese Army for disposal.

In just three days Abu Ali cleared my 40,000-square-meter citrus grove said fourthy-two year old Khalil Wehbeh in the village of Deir Oanum. The bombs were stuck in branches.

The owner of a banana plantation at Batulay, east of Tyre, was equally pleased.

Ahu Ali Ahmad cleared my plantation in five days. Says Farhat Farhat, 53, Now I can go in there again safely, and so can my family. Abu Ali defused dozens of bombs left by the enemy.

Abu Ali is now quite well known in southern lebanon. Even the Chinese soldiers with the UN Interim Force in Lebanon ask for my help. We have a slight communications problem, though, so we have to talk using our hands.

Summary of Lebanese civilians killed or injured by American cluster bombs dropped by Israel in July-August 2006 since the beginning of the ceasefire.

Between three and four civilians are being killed or injured by US cluster munitions every day. Thirthy-five percent of the casualties have been children. Seventy-five percent of Israeli cluster strikes hit built up civilian areas. In the final seventy-two hours of the Israeli attack, leading to the ceasefire, three times as many American rockets, shells and bombs were fired per day as during the rest of the conflict.

Many of the individual casualties identified in the chart below were farmers. Cluster munitions have seriously affected the livelihoods by blocking water supplies, disrupting work to restore power lines and preventing excavation of rubble. The urgent need for massive clear up operations means that fewer resources will be available for their humanitarian needs.

AMERICAN AID TO LEBANON EQUALS 0.6% OF THE AID TO ISRAEL

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS

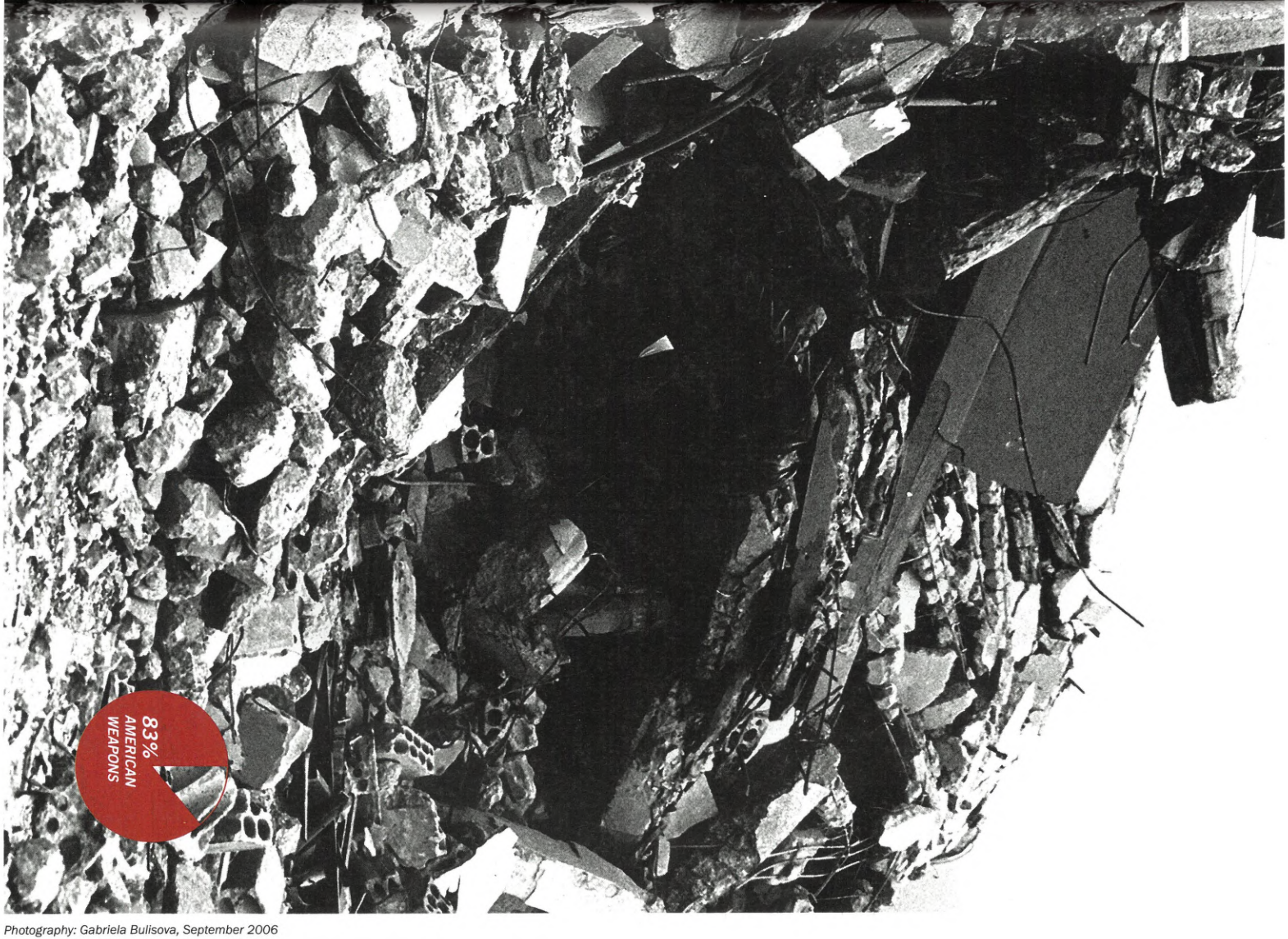
$35 MILLION / YEAR TO LEBANON

MOSTLY FOR CONSTRUCTION PURPOSES

$5.7 BILLION / YEAR TO ISRAEL

MOSTLY FOR DESTRUCTION AND OCCUPATION PURPOSES

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: SALVAGING FAMILY'S BELONGINGS, KOLEILE, SEPTEMBER 2006



Photography: Gabriela Bulisova, September 2006

The Arithmetic of Israel's Use of US Cluster Bombs

> *Simple math reveals the shocking truth: innocent civilians were perhaps 200 times more likely than Hezbollah militants to be killed or maimed by Israel's region-wide cluster bombing. This basic statistic could not have been unknown to Israeli strategists.*
>
> *James Brooks, US weapons researcher*

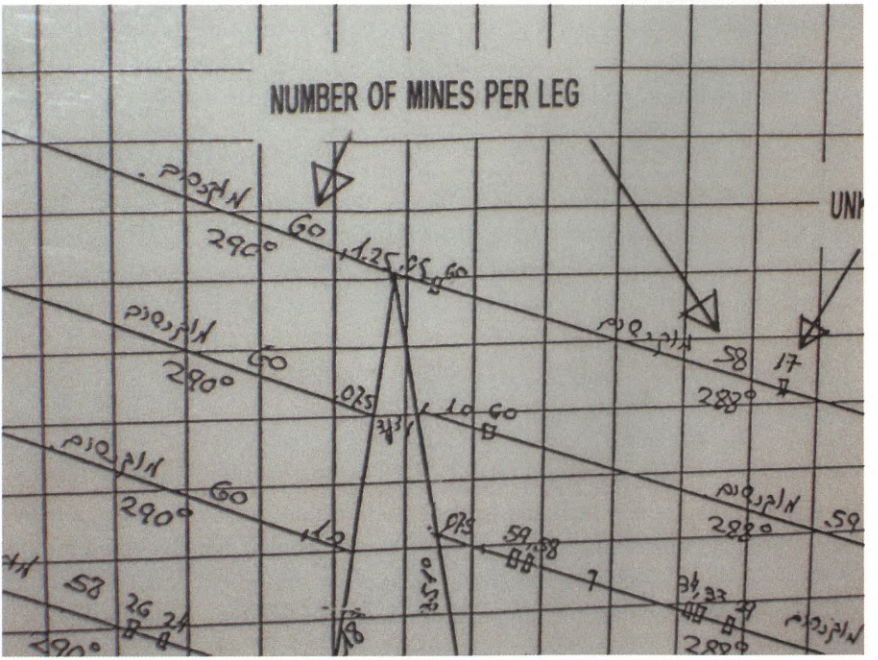
As of November 2006, the governments of Lebanon, the United States or the UNIFIL command has received any detailed information from Israeli authorities regarding either the target locations or numbers of cluster bombs they dropped on Lebanon during July and August 2006. Nor has Israel responded to requests concerning their use of a plethora of other American weapons its military used.

UN officials, whose requests for firing maps from Israel have effectively been stonewalled, continue to seek information form Israel. Some earlier maps, which Israel did hand over, were deemed by Chris Clark, director of the UN-MACC office in Tyre to be worthless because they were too general over a wide area, and were from 2000, not the recent conflict. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, in his September twelve report on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1701, stated; While the IDF has provided some maps to UNIFIL regarding cluster strikes, they are not specific enough to be of use to operators on the ground.

Israel is arguably bound by international customary law to produce the required information. While it has not yet entered into force, Protocol V to the

Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), which deals specifically with explosive remnants of war (ERW), provides an additional framework for evaluating the problems raised by the use of cluster munitions in Lebanon. Article 4 of the 2003 Protocol to the CCW requires that parties to a conflict provide information on the locations of areas targeted with explosive ordnance as well as the number and types of explosive ordnance used and the locations of known and probable unexploded ordnance (UXO).

UNIFIL AND LEBANON NEED ISRAEL TO TURN OVER FIRING LOGS AND LANDMINE MAPS



The UN and the international community still await useful maps from Israel as to where it fired American cluster bombs and other ordinances. It was discovered on November 23, 2006 that Israel also left behind land mines in direct contravention of international law. Israel's friend in Congress should immediately

use their influence and demand that Israel turn over to Lebanon and the UN 'firing logs'. This above map, given to researchers by the UN show the type of map Israel turned finally turned over in 2006 depict mines laid in 2000 before it withdrew from Lebanon. As UNIFIL officials have repeated stated, such sketches as this one are 'useless in locating unexploded mines.

UNIFIL spokesman Alexander Ivanko: We demand that Israel provide detailed information to UNIFIL regarding the exact location, quantity and type of cluster munitions utilized during the conflict. In addition to cluster munitions, unexploded bombs, rockets, mortars and other ordnance also litter the south and areas in the north and east of Lebanon. According to David Shearer, UN Humanitarian Co-coordinator for Lebanon, What we'd like is the number of shells that were fired in and the actual coordinates so we can go in and short-circuit what we're doing now and go and find those munitions straight away. But that has not happened yet.

According to an August 31 statement by Kate Gilmore, executive deputy secretary general of Amnesty International, Israel's use of cluster bombs in the heart of where people live clearly violates the prohibition on indiscriminate attacks and is therefore a grave violation of international humanitarian law. It is outrageous that, despite official requests from the United Nations, Israel has still not provided maps for the areas it targeted with cluster bombs. This failure is further endangering the lives of Lebanese civilians, particularly children.

Gilmore continued: Cluster bombs are effectively antipersonnel mines. Their widespread use in Lebanon by the Israeli military is already taking a heavy toll on the hundreds of thousands of ordinary men, women and children returning to their homes. The US, which is the main supplier of arms to Israel, should not provide such weapons and commit to a worldwide moratorium on their use.

On October 12, the UN again warned of unexploded American cluster bombs dropped by Israel and asserted that they pose a terrible threat to children. According to Michael Bociurkiw, a spokesman for UNICEF, The number of unexploded cluster bombs range from 100,000 to 1 million and it remains a primary threat to children, especially as they go back to school. UN peacekeepers in Lebanon say

they expect the problem to worsen as winter sets in and the soil softens because of the rain. The cluster bomb units will then tend to sink into the ground. This will make the job more dangerous since it becomes difficult to detect and clear the suspected contaminated areas. UNIFIL demining teams and UXO disposal units are trying to remove as many as they can before the winter season.

The CBU-58/B US cluster bomb first given to Israel in October of 1973 during the Yom Kippur War. Their 'shelf life' is 365 days and that is one reason nearly seventy percent of these thirty-five year old bombs did not explode and now pose an extreme hazard in Lebanon. The US stopped using them in 1991 and US military ordnance specialists consider remaining supplies of CBU-58's 'junk'. Used widely by Israel in 1978 and 1982, Pentagon officials expressed surprise that Israel still had this type.

Israel used three types of American cluster bombs in Lebanon during the

2006 attack. Israel's inventory of cluster bombs includes three US manufactured and supplied types and all were used in Lebanon.

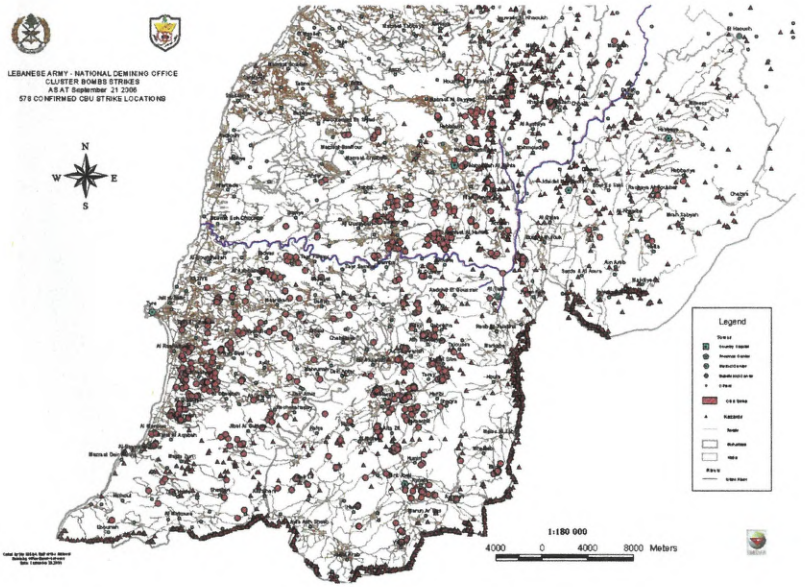
On a few occasions in the fall of 2006, researchers would happen upon a number of cluster bomb units lying on the ground, previously undiscovered. Researchers came to refer to these areas as 'dudfields' or 'defacto minefields'.

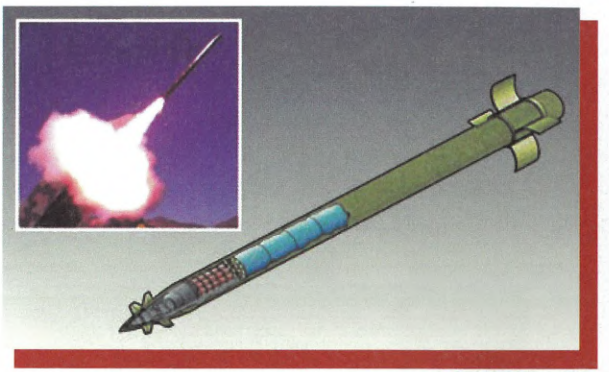
Cluster bombs scattered across the south of Lebanon

The US M-483A1 155-millimeter artillery projectile. It contains 64 M-42 and 24 M-46 submunitions, is delivered by artillery cannon, and has a range of 23-28 km. The one pictured was found by researchers near Aitaroun in south Lebanon on August 14, 2006.

The most widely used American cluster bomb during the July 2006 War

The M26 rocket, which fires 644 M77 (M-42) submunitions from a Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS) with 12 pods or rockets. Usually, six rockets are fired at once. The rockets have a range of up to 38 kilometers and reach their destination in less than one minute.

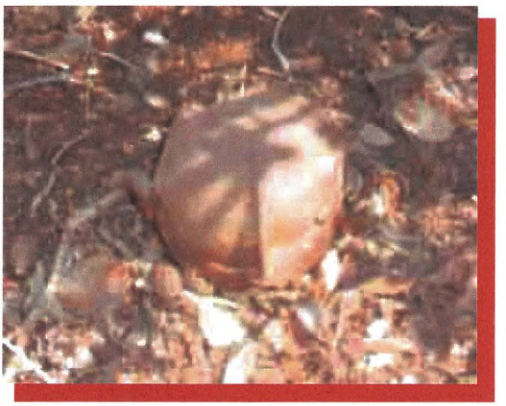




Above photo shows the US M-26 Rockets filled with 644 M77 cluster bombs. Israel fired more than one thousand M-26 277mm cluster bomb rockets into Lebanon during its 33 day attack.

The CBU 58B bomb is shown below. For the air-dropped CBU 58B to function properly, meaning that it detonates on contact, it must be released at the correct altitude, trajectory, and speed. Each mother bomb contains 650 BLU-63 spherical submunitions, which are about the size of a softball. The CBU 58B was originally delivered to Israel in 1973 for use in the octoberWar. With a shelf life of one year, it is more than thirty-four years past its warranted shelf-life. As noted in the section on Beirut in 1982, it was widely used between 1978-82 by Israel against Lebanon.

An example of the CBU-58 (BLU-63) has been found near the southern city of Nabatiyeh, with nearly all its cargo of 650 bomblets in tact. The United States last used this cluster bomb in the 1991 Gulf War and no longer has it in its inventory. One Pentagon source offers: The CBU-58 is total garbage! We dumped it over Fifteen years ago. Thirty-four years out of date? Hello! I couldn't give that s--- to the Taliban. The Israelis were emptying their trash on Lebanon. They want Congress to give them the good stuff—new stuff. Watch, they'll get it too—pronto!.



A BLU 63 Cluster sub-munition. A total of 99 were located and destroyed from around the houses and buildings of At Tiri village.

The CBU-58/B was fired near Qana and shows a packing date of May 1978. Twenty-eight years past its 'shelf-life' with up to seventy percent of its bomblets scattered around the south of Lebanon. Some of the CBU-58/Bs used by Israel in Lebanon in 2006 were older than the same type they used during its 1982 invasion

The fourth type of cluster bomb Israel used against civilians in Lebanon was one that it manufactures itself, the M85 HEDP (Bantum) cluster munition, a knock-off of the US M-42 and M-46 submunitions that Israel fires in a 155-millimeter projectile. Deminers estimate that more than ninety-five percent of the cluster bombs Israel used against Lebanon in 2006 made in and supplied by America.

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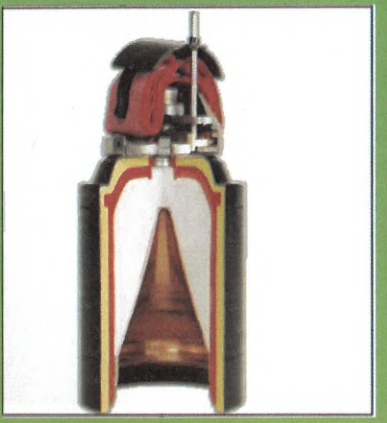
M-85 Bantam, Israel, HEDP

Designation	Weight	Filling	l	diameter	Status	Remarks
DP Bantam M 85	0.296 kg	0.044 RDX-based HE	0.055 m	42 mm	in service	ATAP-300 carries 320; ATAP-500 carries 512; ATAP-1000 carries 900



The HEDP grenade can be delivered by:

- Projectile (63 in ER-projectiles)
- Mortar
- Rocket (518 in 227 mm MLRS M-26)
- Bomb

Unlike most other grenades of this kind the M-85 has an inbuilt pyrotechnic self destruct mechanism.

Appeared in south Lebanon in two types: with SD mechanism and without, see next page.

According to *Ha'aretz*, IDF sources admit that a main reason why Israel used so many US made cluster bombs in stead of their own, was to save money. The consideration is budgetary, *Ha'aretz* quoted a defense related source as saying.

The US cluster bombs are free whereas if Israel used the ones its Israel military industries makes they would cost $10 each. Given that Israel used approximately 4.5 million cluster bomblets that are nearly a $45-50 million dollar savings for Israel. The Israeli-made version of the US M-42 cluster bomb called the M-85 Bantam is offered for sale in the arms market. That is cash for Israel while its own military opts to use the free American model.

NUMBERS OF CLUSTER BOMBS DROPPED ON LEBANON

Israel goes to extraordinary lengths to prevent civilian casualties, often placing its own soldiers at greater risk as a consequence.

AIPAC/Israeli Foreign Ministry Websites 1/10/07

It is fairly certain that no agency anticipated anything like the volume of cluster bombs Israel dropped on Lebanon. From the border town of Ghajjar to the village of Meidoun, approximately 12 kilometers north of Marjaayoun, Israel appears to have dropped more than 4.8 million US cluster bombs on Lebanon.

UN and Lebanese army surveys, in addition to information supplied by the victims of these weapons themselves, as well as Israel military commanders allow for some calculations.

Taking the lowest available figures, media reports from Israel indicate that at least 1,800 MLRS rockets were fired. Evidence found by the UN Mine Action Coordination Centre (UNMACC) at more than 900 locations in south Lebanon confirms this. Each MLRS rocket disperses 644 submunitions. Therefore, one full

twelve-rocket volley from the MLRS system equals 7,728 M-42 cluster bombs, and the total number of cluster bombs dispersed via MLRS is 1,159,200 (1,800 x 644). A failure rate of fifteen percent, the official arms industry failure rate ascribed to the MLRS/M-42/M-77 combo, would leave 173,880 unexploded cluster bombs. The observed failure rate, however, is closer to fourteen percent, which means that about 463,680 cluster bombs remain unexploded.

Two versions (tires and tracks) and two views of the US Multiple Launch Rocket System with 12 M-26 Rockets, both used by Israel against Lebanon, each delivering 644 M-77 (M-42) cluster bombs for a total of 7,728 cluster bombs per volley. It can reach a target 35 miles away in less than 60 seconds.

August 11, 2006 near Bint Jbeil, Israel firing a barrage of 12 MLRS rockets (M-26) each rockets holds 644 M-77 (similar to M-42) cluster bomblets for a total of 7,728 cluster bombs per volley. Approximately 4.8 billion US cluster bombs were fired against mainly civilian targets in three days. The Lebanese army estimating as high as 90% during the 72 hours following the announcement of the UN ceasefire.

Israel firing American M-26 MLRS Rockets each filled with 644 M77 cluster bombs into Lebanon on August 12, 2006.

US M-26 cluber bombs.

The above diagram shows the M-77 cluster bomb carried in the US M-26 rocket

US M-42 (M-77) cluster bombs.

Chris Clark of UNMACC has estimated that the average failure rate may even approach fifty percent, with many catastrophic failures. Others have estimated an average failure rate of up to seventy percent in some villages, such as Yohmor. Other villages especially hard hit with US cluster bombs were Tebnine, Ain Ebel, Yaroun (almost exactly on the Blue Line), Bent Jbeil, and Kfar Tebnit.

Israeli reservists were reportedly surprised that the army was using the MLRS rocket launchers. According to an article in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* on September 12, they had been told the rockets were the IDF's judgment day weapon and were intended for use in a full-scale war.

Similar calculations with the other types of cluster bombs must be made to complete the cluster-munitions equation. With regard to the artillery-delivered munitions, Pentagon and media sources indicate that Israel fired at least 160,000

projectiles during the conflict. Pentagon sources suggest that at least twenty percent of those contained 88 M-42 and M-46 bombs. This translates to about 2,816,000 bombs dropped. The emerging failure rate for all cluster munitions is around forthy percent, which suggests that as many as 1,126,400 unexploded bombs of this type need to be cleared.

Aerially-delivered cluster bombs further add to the threat. An additional 500,000 BLU 63 bomblets may have been dropped by US supplied warplanes. CBU-58 mother bombs each contain 650 BLU-63 bombs. Their high failure rate is likely affected by the their age: they are more than thirthy-four years old and date from the October 1973 War, when they were given to Israel for use exclusively against Arab forces advancing across the Sinai or other wide open spaces. Some of the ones found after this summer's war still bear a sticker that reads, in yellow print, "This item is warranted for one year.

In addition to age, other reasons have been given for the high number of duds (as the munitions that failed to explode are called), including that they were dispersed in areas where the ground and vegetation were too soft to create the impact necessary to detonate the bombs and that they were not deployed in accordance with the manufacturer's specifications. For example, the manufacturer of the MLRS recommends that the M-26 rockets and their M-77 bombs from less than 15 kilometers away because closer ranges increases the number of duds. Meron Rapoport of Haaretz wrote that in some cases the IDF fired within the fifteen kilometer range.

Moreover, with the US CBU-58, which Israel used in the summer of 2006, the dud rates jump when the trajectory of the parent projectile is too high or too low. Some observers have estimated the failure rate of the CBU-58 bombs to be around seventy percent.

Israel appears to have dispersed the majority of the cluster bombs used in the recent conflict during the last seventy-two hours of its attack. Military analysts suspect that because Israeli forces knew that the ceasefire was imminent, they deployed these bombs without worrying about their well-documented potential to cause friendly-fire casualties.

Others have speculated that Israeli forces dispersed so many bombs in such a short period of time in frustration and to terrorize the more than one million displaced Lebanese people as they returned to their homes. Still more analysts suggest that the IDF purposely deliberately misfired the bombs to increase their dud rates in the hopes of creating a virtual occupation. Nearly seventy percent of the cluster bombs fired landed within 300 meters of built-up residential areas of villages or towns, and thirty-five percent of the casualties were children. East of the southern Lebanese city of Tyre, the figures are even higher.

Capt. Josef Dirschka of the German Armed Forces in Kosovo said in 1999: Unexploded duds are also used deliberately just to spread insecurity. You can't move around freely here as you don't know what state the bombs are in. Will they go off or won't they? If you drive too close to where unexploded duds are lying, it's possible that the vibrations of the vehicle will set the bomb off. You can't know for sure. A certain number of duds are desirable.

According to Fatal Footprint: The Global Human Impact of Cluster Munitions, a November 2006 preliminary report by the Belgian-headquartered NGO Handicap International, since the end of the Vietnam War, between 34,000 and 53,000 civilians have been injured or killed in that country by unexploded US cluster bombs. Meanwhile, the Cluster Munitions Coalition and other NGOs estimate that in Laos and Cambodia over 12,000 have already died from cluster munitions and another 120 people are killed each year, half of them children. Further, following Gulf War I, according to Human Rights Watch, eighty US soldiers and more than 4,000 civilians have been killed or injured by US cluster munitions duds. Estimates are higher for the current US conflict in Iraq, where coalition forces dropped or launched about 1.9 million submunitions in 2003. Prior to the invasion, in Afghanistan, United States armed forces dispersed about 248,000 bombs. In 1999, NATO forces used 295,000 bombs in Kosovo in 1999. Israel doubled the total of these numbers in just over seventy-two hours against civilians in Lebanon. Written situation reports from UNIFIL observers during the conflict show a marked increase in artillery and rocket fire over the last seventy-two hours of the conflict. An average of 2,000 fire missions were recorded each day during the conflict, this increased to approximately 6,000 per day in the last 72 hours.

In addition to more than one million US cluster bombs threatening lives in south Lebanon months after the ceasefire, the UN estimates that more than 18,000 unexploded US ordnance including eighty-millimeter and 107-millimeter mortars, naval and land launched 155-millimeter artillery shells, and 500, 1,000, and 2,000-lb bombs lie unexploded across the southern Lebanon.

The clean up of the widespread unexploded US ordnance across Lebanon is slow. For each cluster-bomb strike, clearance personnel must verify an area totaling 196,000 square meters to locate (and eventually destroy) all unexploded bomblets.

As of January 10, 2007, more than 78,738 cluster bomblets have been cleared and destroyed jointly by the Mine Action Coordination Center of south Lebanon (and its contractors), UNIFIL engineers and the Lebanese Armed. The remaining approximately 950,000 US cluster bombs may require 18-24 months to clear.

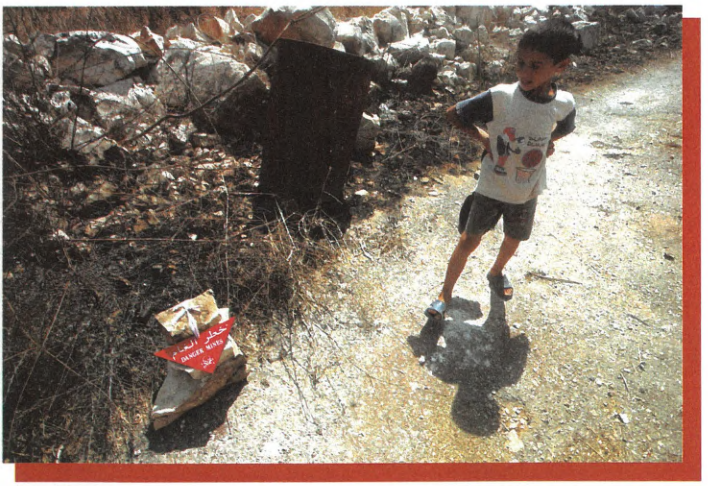
Clearance, explosive ordnance disposal, and information gathering are being carried out by the Lebanese Army, UNIFIL, nongovernmental organizations Mines Advisory Group, Norwegian People's Aid, the Swedish Rescue Services Agency, and the commercial firm BACTEC contracted through the UN Office for Project Services.

UNICEF is supporting the National Demining Office's Mine Risk Education Steering Committee to implement a print and broadcast media campaign to raise awareness among civilians—especially children—about the dangers of UXO.

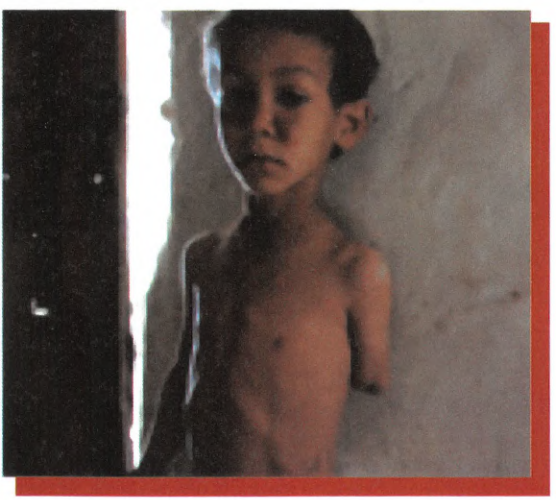
Children to children some US M-42s, Israeli childrens encouraged to write messages to Lebanon

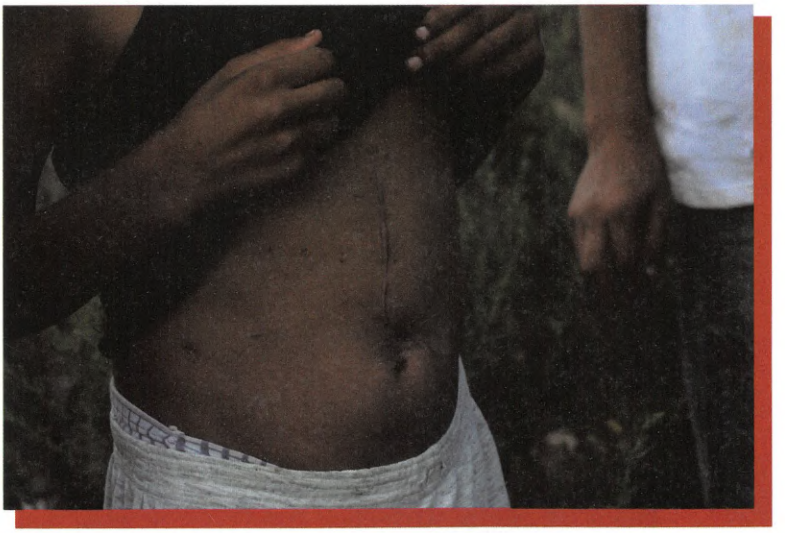
PROJECTILE, 155MM, HE, M483A1
M42
CROSS SECTION OF PAYLOAD
OGIVE WITH SELF REGISTRATION ASSEMBLY

Casulties from Unexploded US ordnance since the Ceasefire on August 11, 2006



There have been twenty-six reported fatalities and 162 reported injuries from all types of unexploded ordnance in Lebanon just since the August 14, 2006 ceasefire. Of these totals, males and females eighteen-years old or younger accounted for six of the fatalities and sixty-four of the injuries. All the fatalities and all but five of the injuries resulted from UA cluster munitions.





Ten year Ali and some of his friends explain how he told his seven year old cousin Aliya to throw away the object she picked up and she dropped it on the road. Ali insides were down his front after the explosion and his cousin was still in the hospital six weeks later with massive injuries.

Is this angel the next victim of unexploded US cluster bombs?

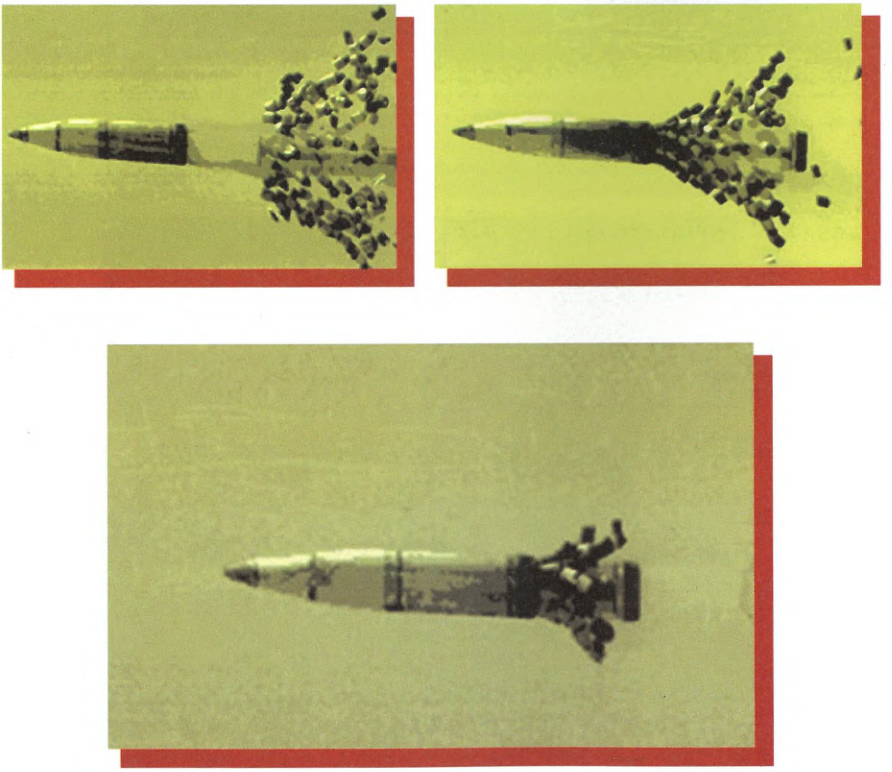
To reach for a toy...or was it a perfume bottle? Pretty little girls like, Fairouz and Louisa...or your beauties...think these deadly US bombs are perfume bottles... or intersting to pick up and look at.

lovely little boys think they look like batteries..or toys.....what do they look like to you dear reader? Will you join us....will you stop this? It's your country... take it back... take control of it...you are more decent and more competent that the neocons who hijacked our government and launched a crusade for Israel...for which we may pay for 300 years decades if not centuries... instead or reasoning... we can do better!
An American researcher from Oregon working at Aitayoun December 13, 2006

It is so sad to think... to reach for a toy, a perfume bottle, a battery, and have that be the end of a small child. And to have that fall on the guilt, the conscience, of my country. This was no accident. We must re-think how our democracy reflects our values if we allow this kind of thing to happen.

...Some of the deadly munitions and unexploded ordnance designed in the US, manufactured in the US, paid for by the US government and the US taxpayer, and used maliciously and indiscriminately by Israel in Lebanon (ostensibly with US approval, if not actual technical and operational assistance), look to young children and other untrained observers like toys, balls, perfume bottles, and other innocuous items.

It's time that we, the people, make clear that these heinous weapons, used in this despicable manner, are not acceptable. A US citizen, a graduate student at the American University of Beirut in Lebanon during the 2006 Israel-Lebanon war



Sequence showing US 155mm artillery shell fired by Israel delivering M-42 CBU to Lebanon

The photos above show an Israeli fired US M-43A1 155mm artillery shell filled with 88 US M-42 bomblets detonating and dispersing 88 bomblets near Eita ech Shaab on July 28, 2006. The shells are designed to open approximately 30ft above ground for maximam effect. This one, like dozens which researchers saw around Lebanon, did not detonate.

All of these six types of cluster bombs shown above were found in Lebanon during the July 2006 war, as well as the BLU 63/B shown below.

Tibnin - Five M-42 US cluster bombs in a park of Main street

Outside of Tibnin Hospital researchers found ten US cluster bombs inside this hastily cordoned off area. All of them were the US M-42 type very likely fired from a US 155 mm artillery shell or MLRS M-26 Rocket

THE FISHERMEN'S BISHOP

Who makes all these cluster bomb things that are killing us, a Maronite Catholic Bishop from the Tyre Archbishopric of St. Bartholomew (Patron Saint of Lebanon's fishermen) asked a foreigner following a December 2006 Sunday mass. During his sermon the priest had asked almighty God to protect Lebanon and its fishermen from these landmines which sometimes get caught in fishing nets.
The American researcher, himself a former acolyte and crucifer, headed for the Priesthood himself had he not ended up with a scholarship to Boston University and carnality, delivered to his Eminence the following list:

American Companies which produce Cluster Bombs and sell them in the International Arms Market:

- Raytheon (USA)
- General Dynamics (USA)
- Aero Jet (USA)
- L-3 Communications (USA)
- Lockheed Martin (USA)
- Northrop Grumman (USA)
- Textron Defense Systems (USA)

Our government and Congress have allowed the shipment of the arguably most lethal cluster bomb delivery system, the world has ever known, the MLRS, which can fire 7,728 cluster bomblets in one 12 barrel volley, and deliver them 35 miles away in less than one minute (as Israel did during the summer of 2006 in Lebanon) to the following countries:

- Israel
- The United Kingdom
- Bahrain
- France
- South Korea
- Italy
- Greece
- Germany
- Netherlands

To their credit, France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands have recently banned their use and are destroying their stockpiles while the international community debates whether to ban all cluster bombs. According to State Department employees and the Cluster Munition Coalition in London, twenty-six Countries are seeking to ban cluster bombs.

US officials attending the recent November 2006 Geneva conference on controlling conventional weapons announced that they would resist any attempts to have cluster bombs put on the agenca because the weapons should be made more reliable instead of banned. Instead, according to these officials, the US is pushing for a treaty on anti-vehicle mines which would protect tanks and APCs from attack on roads from IEDs. Israel also favors this approach given its heavy losses of tanks during the summer of 2006. This is excellent news for the Israeli military as well as the seven US companiens which manufacture cluster bombs. It's bad news for Lebanon and certain other countries.

We don't understand why they won't even consider discussions on cluster munitions, Steve Goose, of Human Rights Watch told the International Herald Tribune following the Conference.

From cluster bombs to big bombs Israel acquires them from the US and uses them against Lebanon's civilians.

My country has never received an American weapon it didn't like and that it didn't use against the people of Lebanon. We own the Ameircan government. Israeli reservist who refused service in Lebanon during the July War.

The American Mk series bombs used by Israel against Lebanon over the period of more than a quarter century are the primary US GP bombs known as the Mark 80 series. This class of weapons uses a shape known as Aero 1A, designed by Douglas Aircraft and has a length-to-diameter ratio of about 8:1, and results in minimum drag for the carrier aircraft. The Mark 80 series was not used in combat until the Vietnam War, but has since that time replaced earlier GP weapons. Israel first received them during the October war 1973. The Mark 80 series includes four basic weapon types:

- MK 81 (nominal weight 250 lb / 113 kg)
- MK 82 (nominal weight 500 lb / 227 kg)
- MK 83 (nominal weight 1,000 lb / 454 kg)
- MK 84 (nominal weight 2,000 lb / 908 kg)

The above photo was taken on August 18, 2006 in the Lebanese village of Zibqine. Shown is an American MK-84 BSU-37/B free fall unguided 2000-lb bomb.

302 This bomb was dropped by Israel on the house of seventy-nine year old Christian women who had no idea about Hezbollah and who hardly qualified as a terrorist. The markings on this particular MK-84 are partially visible below. It is 10 ft. 9 in inches long and contains 945 lbs (429 kg) of Tritonal high explosive. The MK-84 can penetrate up to fifteen inches of hardened steel or eleven feet of concrete and forms a crater fifthy ft wide and thirty-six feet deep.

The MK-84 causes lethal fragmentation to a radius of 400 yards and fragmentation to a radius of 400 yards, 366 meters.

Had the bomb pictured above detonated it would have vaporized the lady and leveled ten blocks in every direction. Researchers identified 167 unexploded 500-lb (MK-82), 1,000-lb (Mk-83) and 2000-lb (MK-84) American bombs between the ceasefire of August 14 and November 30, 2006. How many are there of these penetrating Lebanon posing a risk of leveling large areas? No one knows. Certainly not Raytheon, or the Pentagon, the Israeli Congress or the American taxpayers footing the bill.

This MK-84 is the same US bomb that Israel dropped two of on Qana, Lebanon on July 30, 2006, killing seventeen children and twelve adults. Israel also used at least four of them in south Beirut. From the markings on both Qana MK-84 2000-lb bombs researchers learned one difference. For Qana, Israel added a Boeing-produced Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs) unit in order to convert the MK-84s into GPS-guided smart bombs. This made the Qana Bombs precision guided bombs able to be precisely controlled. An employee of the JDAM manufacturer, Boeing, flatly declared that with their detachable tail fin unit which is used to stabilize the Mk-84 bomb, there was no way that Israel did not know exactly where that Mk-84 bomb was going to hit.

As journalist Robert Fisk reported, the Qana Bomb showed markings For Use on MK-84 Guided Bomb BSU-37/B (ASSY) 96214-700922-6. Researchers verified and credited Fisk's report and located another MK-84, discovered by the Lebanese Red Cross, which did not explode at the same Qana site. Below right is a typical hole from an MK-84. The live Bomb is below the surface. In this example, at Aita ech Chaab.

A piece of bomb fuselage bearing the markings (in English) FOR USE ON MK-84 GUIDED BOMB BSU-37/B (ASSY) 96214-700922-6 was unearthed by American researchers at the scene of bombings in Beirut's southern suburbs.

At the same bombing site researchers found three Wing Extension Fins with markings that read Wing Extension for Guided Bomb (illegible).96214-689900-1 (illegible)..For use on Mk-82 (illigible) Slow Speed Only.

According to ordnance specialist the fact of random discovery of these many legible fragments suggests that the quantity of bombs targeting the area was enormous and eyewitnesses and the media has testified.
The BSU 37/B is a detachable tail fin unit which is used to stabilize the Mk-84 bomb, an American-made general-purpose bomb which weighs around 2,000 lb (900 kg). Israel received some 2,500 Mk-84s equipped with precision-guidance systems in an arms transfer agreement with the United States Government in 2004.

A piece of MK-84 that killed at least 29 civilians at Qana.

Above right is another unexploded MK-84 in the village of Al-Sultaneyeh near Tyre. It shows the tail fin. The bomb itself could be as far as 33ft. underground.

As in more than ten incidents during July-August 2006, Israel declared sorry, it was a mistake wrong map technical failure error operational dysfunction. Israel always uses weapons in full compliance with international law etc.These standard excuses are no longer good enough for the people of Lebanon.

During 2002-2004, the Pentagon notified Congress of impending sales of 6,000 JDAMs and 2,590 MK-84s to Israel through its Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program—valued at $346 million. Israel received some 2,500 MK-84s equipped with precision-guidance systems in 2004. It was this bomb which the Bush Administration rushed 1,000 of to Israel during July, 2006 as well as 800 GBU-28s with depleted uranium hardened nose-cones for penetrating thick steel and concrete.

An unexploded Mk-84 2000-lb bomb found in a Peach Orchard in Marajoun following the August 14th ceasefire.

The photo above, taken on September 12, 2006, by an American researcher, at Aita ech Chaab, shows a hole in the ground where a MK-84 bunker-

buster, entered the yard of a house but did not explode. Virtually every village in South Lebanon, numbering more than 160, which were attacked by Israel with American weapons, exhibits evidence like this. How will these villages ever be made safe for the inhabitants? How many MK-84 or GBU-28s containing depleted uranium with a half life of 4.5 billion years are in Lebanese soil?

Many scientists who have tested the soil in Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan claim these areas are radioactive. To what extent is this true in Lebanon? When do our fellow Americans declare that as far as Israel is concerned, enough is enough and expel the Israel lobby from our Congress and make our Middle East policy in Washington and not Tel Aviv?

VIOLATIONS OF THE BLUE LINE

Since the August 14, 2006 ceasefire, Israel has violated Lebanese sovereignty more than 1,370 as of Janvarc 10, 2007 times, or on average of 7 times each day. Hezbollah: 0.

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: DESTROYED HOUSE IN BENT JBAIL, DECEMBER 2006

Photography: Gabriela Bulisova, December 2006

Ineffective vs. the Lebanese Resistance but a triple-threat to civilians: Young Ali Hussein-miracle child!

"Everyday women and children are killed or injured as they sift through the rubble of their former homes by cluster munitions that failed to go off when they should have. The claim that these faulty weapons can be used in a precise or surgical way is a lie. The evidence is there to see littering the ruined houses and olive groves of southern Lebanon. If they were any other kind of product they would have been recalled. They should be banned.

Simon Conway, Director, Land Mine Action October 19, 2006

From the Litani River in the north, to Naqoura on the Mediterranean in the south, to Kfar Chouba in the east along a border of unexploded ordnance running parallel to Palestine, Lebanon continues to be one massive mine field.

As the initial assessment and clean up of American cluster bombs, estimated at more than one million unexploded bomblets across the south of Lebanon, gets underway, unanticipated findings are emerging:

The breadth and depth of the problem with cluster bombs found in more than 1,000 locations in scores of villages as of January 2007 was not expected. So far less than fifteen percent have been disposed of, and less than one-third of the villages in the south have been certified as safe for domestic or agricultural use by the United Nations ordnance disposal task force. Between three and four civilians are being killed or injured by cluster munitions every week. Thirty five percent of casualties have been children and more than percent of Israeli cluster strikes hit built up areas.

Even operators of heavy rubble clearing equipment are finding their work is stymied because Israel dropped cluster bombs both before and after many buildings were destroyed by bombs, and therefore cluster bombs are sandwiched between layers of pancaked walls and piles of rubble.

While the M-26 Cluster Bomb Unit may have looked promising at military demo shows when observed in ideal conditions of level, obstruction-free open areas, using polished bomblet conditions, the reality is very different in villages which are seeing not the military touted dud rates in the one percent to four percent range, but rather dud rates in the fourty-sixty percentplus range, and in some cases, seventy percent no weapons with this performance statistic would be taken seriously at arms sale outlets.

The US cluster munitions dropped across Lebanon have been a near total failure as far as their claimed purpose and justification, degrading Hezbollah forces. Lebanese army, UN, and Hezbollah sources agree the cluster bombs had virtually no impact on Palestinian, Amal, and Hezbollah fighters during the recent conflict.

One Hezbollah commander told one researcher associated with this report: Maybe three or four [were killed] -- perhaps a few more I didn't hear about -- due to accidents by our forces but unlike the civilian population, we have a long history of confronting the Zionist aggressors and we often know what they will do before they do. True, they have your country's latest weapons, but one-on-one they are not impressive at all. Much more cowardly and incompetent than their propaganda claims plus they are very weak psychologically -- they know they stole Palestine, and they realize that sooner or later they will have to make peace, or they will destroy themselves and disappear from the region.

Another commander added, My brothers can't wait for their [Israeli] troops to enter Lebanon again on the ground. We are eager to hit them harder next time. The Zionists' training has consisted of using tanks against stone-throwing children and harassing pregnant women at check points. We now have the weapons to quickly destroy their tanks. That is why they couldn't enter very far into Lebanon and finally accepted a ceasefire. We don't respect them either as men or soldiers.

Yet another offered: When we fire a rocket or series of rockets at their weapon stockpiles or artillery positions in northern Palestine, our brothers know that they have approximately from 90 seconds to 6-7 minutes to disappear – often deep underground. The Zionists place their weapons next to Arab neighborhoods, where they have not provided shelters for the non-Jews. We are accused of targeting civilians. This is not true we know where their weapons are exactly. They hide behind the civilians in northern Palestine like they do in Gaza. Using the people as shields.

Other recent findings confirm that Israel may have dropped as many as eighty-ninety percent of the US cluster bombs during July-August 2006 in the seventy-two hours immediately before the ceasefire. Military analysts on the ground offer two explanations:

1.) Shear frustration, hatred, and rage by Israel's leadership and its obsession with punishing Lebanon for its more than eighty-five percent support (including Lebanon's middle class and Christian citizens) for Hezbollah's resistance to Israel's attempted reoccupation up to the Litani River.
One expert who spent more than a quarter century with the UN in Lebanon offered a chilling view. It's hard to believe but from what I have seen for nearly three decades, the Israelis just do not care. They could be killing ants or Arabs. Sadly for many of them it is the same.

2.) A desire by Israel to get rid of as much of its US cluster bomb inventory as possible, which the Pentagon has stipulated must be reduced to a lower level before Israel can reorder newer models like the M-26. This is why the thirty-three year old CBU-58, almost extinct, was used so widely. Israel was cleaning out its CBU closet for new orders, one Lebanese army source reported.

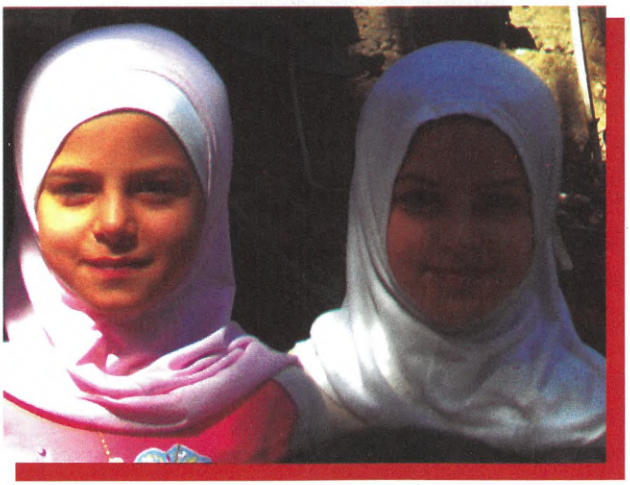
According to Israeli soldiers, reported in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* on September 13, the Israeli military launched over 1.2 million cluster bombs into Lebanon, and used White phosphorous shells as well -- the overwhelming majority used in the last ten days of the war. The use of white phosphorous, which causes excruciating burns, is prohibited under international customary law and Protocol III of the Geneva Convention.

An Israeli rocket unit commander stated that because the Israeli rockets are so imprecise, his unit was ordered to flood the area with them. The soldiers said that during IDF training exercises live rockets are almost never fired, to prevent leaving duds behind that would fill the IDF's firing grounds with mines. Yet, the soldiers said, Israeli forces in Lebanon fired the rockets at ranges of less than fifteen kilometers, even though the manufacturer's guidelines state that firing at this range considerably increases the number of duds.

The rocket commander, who said he had complained to Israel's Defense Minister but has received no response, stated: In Lebanon, we covered entire villages with cluster bombs. What we did was crazy and monstrous.

YOUNG ALI HUSSEIN AND HIS 'BOSSY' BIG SISTERS: PRINCESSES AMAL AND ZEINA

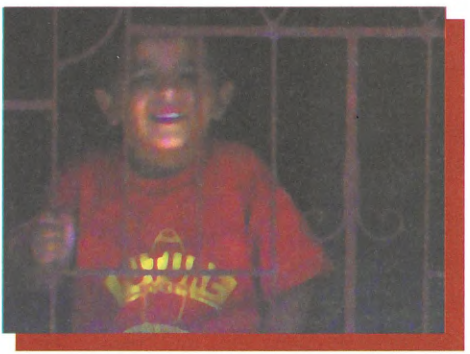
If the Hussein children from the village of al salteneyeh are not the sweetest, the most charming, and the most beautiful children in all of Lebanon and beyond, then this researcher has missed some very special children indeed during more than four months of visiting villages in the south. To meet and speak with these young ladies and their brother is a sheer pleasure...and a completely enchanting experience.



The Princesses Amal and Zeina...their bother's guardians and bane....

A brief word about young Ali Hussein, whose fate is that he has to deal with his sisters. Ali is almost six years old. His sisters eight and ten and therein lies, as any parent will instantly recognize, part of the problem.

Ali, as his sisters will sternly explain to a visitor, is not only ill behaved, but as the girls elaborate, he needs to learn to be a better boy, to behave properly. He's always been like this, Zeinab the eight year old explains. We don't know what to do about him, Amal, the ten year old adds. Please mister, could you make him mind us? When we tell him what to do and how to behave properly he just laughs at us and does whatever he wants? It is very bothersome.



Ali, seen in the photo above is behind the bars of his front door and on restriction, placed there by his mother and with his detention enforced by his sisters. Ali seems to think it is all quite amusing and was not even mildly impressed by his American visitor who listened intently as his sisters tried to explain, to the stranger, the errors of Ali's ways.

Young Ali Hussein's tale is remarkable, even by Lebanese standards. Following his family's return to their village on August 15, 2006, few, in any in his village realized that the area had been saturated with deadly American cluster bombs

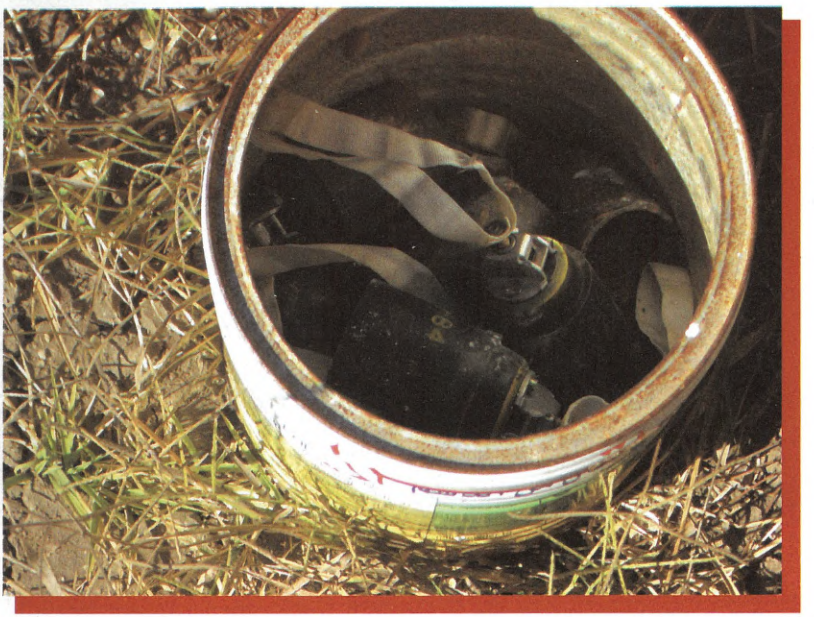
As Ali explained, through a UN interpreter, he likes to play in the banana grove in the back of his house and he really likes 'toys'. So while his family unpacked their van and rejoiced that the damage to their house was not as great as they has thought it might be, and as they settled in, young Ali was nowhere to be seen.

Ali had made a beeline to his fort in the banana grove. He was very happy to be home after weeks of living in an open air public park, Syniyeh Gardens, in Beirut. And he was delighted to find that some nice person had given him many 'toys' during his month long absence which he now found scattered around his play area.

He gathered up several and, being a bright lad, he realized that he needed something to put them in if he was to gather lots. Ali returned to his house, under the suspicious eyes of his sisters, and found a small bucket with a wire handle. Luckily his sisters were not paying him much heed except to instruct him that he must wash his hands for lunch.

Ignoring his sisters' instructions, Ali raced to his play area and went to work gathering nearly twenty toys. He liked them. They were small but heavy and had a good feel. He delighted that each had a bright white ribbon that he could hold them by. He placed some on a stick Ali examined them. He dropped a couple but

retrieved them. The bucket became heavy but Ali was able to half drag it into the house to show his sisters. Maybe he would give Amal and Zeina one, but he was not sure.



Ali's 'toy' collection of which he was very proud and which his sister's recently reported he is still looking to replace.

Ali was disappointed that his sister did not seem impressed with his wonderful new toys.Ali removed three from his bucket and put them on the dining table when suddenly his oldest sister grabbed and checked his hands disapprovingly. This will not do, Zeina admonished Ali, go wash immediately...properly!

As there was no running water in his house, Ali's mother, Fatima, who was busy preparing the children's rooms upstairs, had filled a basin for the children with water distributed by the UN World Food Program. Ali noticed that a few of the ribbons of his toys were dirty and he proceeded to scrub them in the basin.

Get those things out of here!" his mother said, approaching him from behind. Startled, Ali dropped two on the floor, and afraid that his mother might make him discard them he quickly put them in his pockets. He washed his hands and face unusually well all the while smiling at his mother.

During lunch, Ali's good fortune turned sour. First, his sisters told their uncle Ibrahim, who came to look in on them, that Ali had found 'things' in the banana grove and had been naughty and brought them into the house. His uncle Ibrahim had heard about unexploded bomblets being found in the area as citizens returned to their homes following the August 14, 2006 ceasefire. His uncle immediately snatched the bucket with Ali's treasures, put in out of reach, made Ali empty his pockets, and sent Amal to alert the village Muktar to come have a look.

Ali was in deep trouble, as his sisters made very clear to him. Ali was immediately ordered to stay in the house as the Mukhtar, Ali's uncle Ibrahim, and his mother engaged is excited conversation out front about what Ali had found and collected.

Above photo, the Mukhtar of Al-Sultaneyeh arrives at Ali's house.

Within less than an hour, European demining NGOs arrived to investigate the report they received concerning unexploded ordnance in Al Sultaneyeh.

A big man with long hair tied into a pony tail spoke to Ali's mother and uncle: They're all over the south. From the Litani to the blue line, we have found five different types so far. These ones your son collected are US M-42s. Each little bomblet is more powerful than five of the old hand grenades. The M-42 is designed to penetrate 2.75 inches of steel. They are extremely deadly. Our UN supervisors told the media that the UN estimates that there are more than 1 million lying around waiting to detonate. It may take us up to two years to clean them up unless we get a lot of help. Right now, we are over whelmed and can only deal with the most urgent cases. Believe me ma'am your case is very urgent. I can not believe what has happened here.

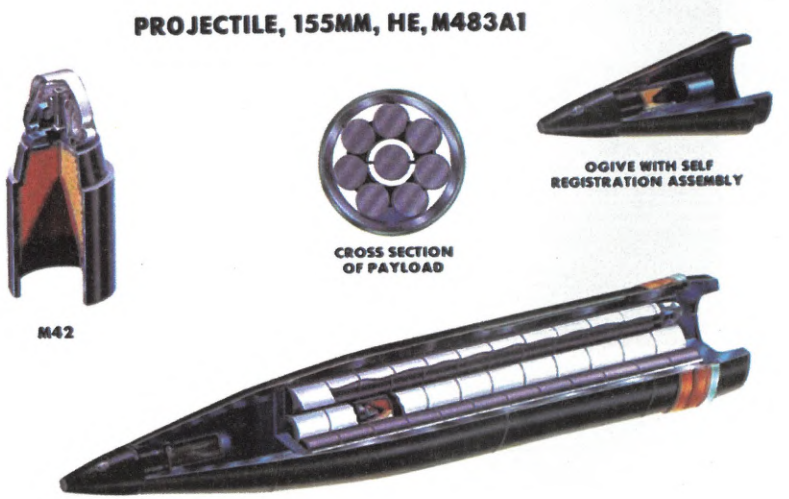
US M-42 cluster bombs are shown.

What Ali then witnessed caused him to fall into a fit and tantrum. Directing everyone to go behind the house for protection, and donning a protective suit, helmet and shield, the deminer carried Ali's bucket filled with his toy collection and placed it carefully into a protective ordnance disposal chest in the back of his pickup to be detonated later in a safer place. As the deminer drove away, Ali was inconsolable with rage caused by his toys being taken from him.

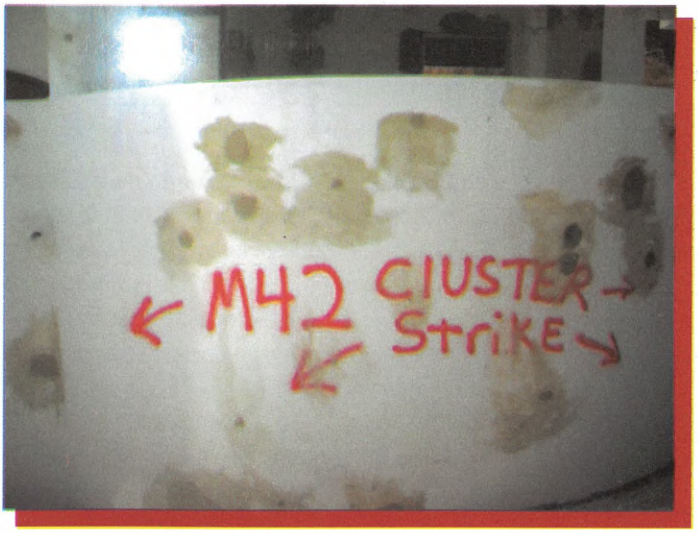
The photo below shows a US 155mm, HE, M-483A1 which fires 88 M-42 bomblets behind Ali's house. Had he found it he likely would have wanted to add some to his toy collection.

Of the M-483A1s Israel used in Lebanon, approximately fourty percent did not explode on impact. Researchers found many around south Lebanon and many remain undiscovered. Israel has admitted firing more that 160,000 US 155mm artillery shells into Lebanon between 7/12/06 and 8/14/06. Roughly 25% of these contained cluster bombs.

The new speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, has assured Israel she will be that their weapon supplies are replenished.



On five occasions between July and December, 2006, researchers walking in fields in the south would happen upon a concentration of cluster bombs lying on the ground. These were discovered on August 24, 2006 near Tyre.



The photo above shows Ali's playground and 'fort' closed until deminers can certify that it is safe. This process across Lebanon may take two years or more unless the US Congress accepts responsibility and sends some help.

In a subsequent interview with a Researcher, the deminer from Germany explained the workings of the M-42 and how easily they are detonated by the slightest movement. To touch a M-42 and not get your body blown apart are very long odds indeed but what that that kid did is just not believable. The young man gathered about 20 of them in a bucket, dragged it around his house and is still alive, in my experience that is simply not possible when my crew detonated that bucket you could have heard the blast damn near to Damascus. The kid is a miracle child...God was watching over him...and I'm agnostic as hell! Well I was...now I am not sure what to think!

As word spread around his village, young Ali Hussein became something of a local celebrity. Some villagers would, from time to time, stop by his house to pay their respects and bring him treats which his lovely sisters, Amal and Zeina, dutifully confiscated, logged, monitored, and parceled using their new leverage to ever encourage Ali to become a better boy who behaves properly

A deminer clearing unexploded ordnance from along the Mediterranean Sea near Tyre.

Of all of the Arab countries, perhaps Qatar is most visible today in Lebanon helping the people recover and try to reconstruct their lives. Many billboards like this one warn citizens of the dangers of unexploded ordnance and at the same time massive rebuilding projects in Bint Jbeil and the surrounding areas is being organized and paid for by the people and government of Qatar.

Thirty-five percent of US cluster bomb victims are children younger than 13. There have been between three-five US cluster bomb casualties each week since the August 14, 2006 ceasefire.

Israel accepts no responsibility whatsoever for the continuing carnage in Lebanon, claiming in the words of the Mark Regev, foreign ministry spokesman, that Israel acted at all times within the norms of international law while taking extraordinary measures, never taken by any other country, to protect the civilian population of Lebanon at all times.

Mine Victims Assistance Section

قسم مساعدة ضحايا الألغام

		Injured	Killed	Total
Child (male)	0 – 12 yrs	20	2	22
Child (female)	0 – 12 yrs	4	-	4
Adolescent (male)	13 – 18 yrs	29	4	33
Adolescent (female)	13 - 18 yrs	1	-	1
Adult (male)	19 + yrs	93	17	110
Adult (female)	19 + yrs	9	-	9
Grand total		156	23	179

Information updated: December 4, 2006

The above chart shows some of the casualties that have occurred in the south of Lebanon since the August 14, 2006 ceasefire from 'dud' US clusters bombs fired by Israel which came into contact with people like the Ali Hussein family.

This gentleman is a Lebanese fisherman, Mohammad Ismail Jaffal. He is thirty-six years old, unconscious and in intersive care after bbeing seriously injured by acluster sub-munition. On September 10, 2006 he pulled up a cluster bomblet in his fishing net off the shores of Tyre. The bomblet exploded as he reached to free it from his net. Mohammad was pulled out of the water and taken to hospital by his brother who fishes with him. Mohammad's right hand is gone and he has massive injuries to his head, torso and lungs. He has three children ages twelve, eleven and three years old.

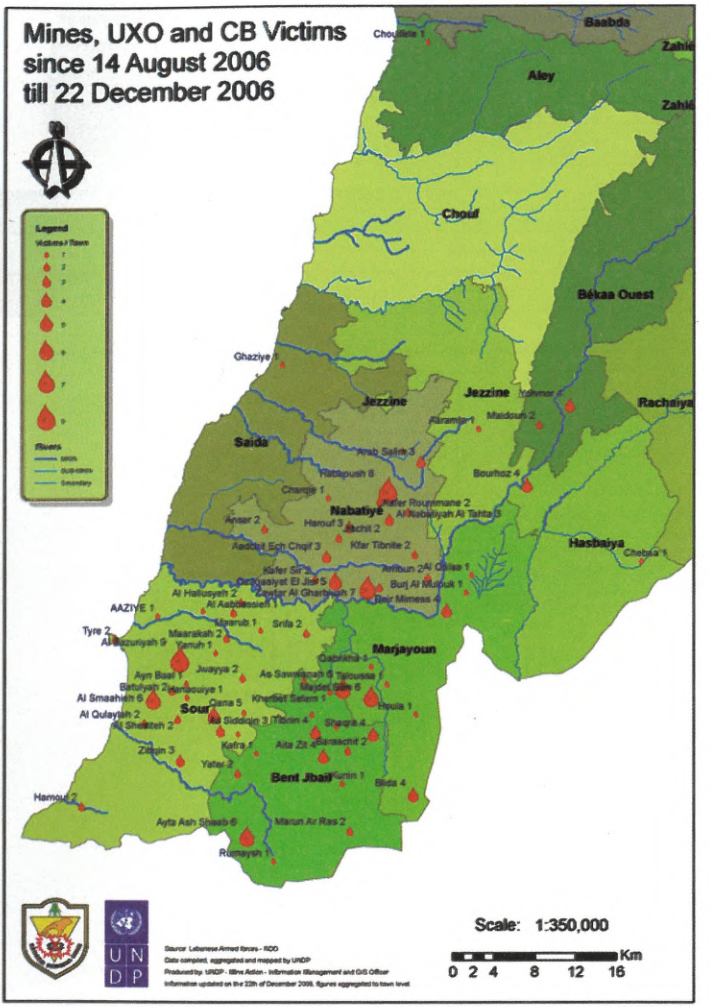
Casualties (civilian & demining) in South Lebanon from 14 Aug 06- to 13 Feb 07

	Children (0 -12)		Youth (13 -18)		Adult (19 +)		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	(Injury/Death)
Injured	20	4	36	3	114	9	186
Killed	2	0	5	0	23	0	30
Total (Age/Gender)	22	4	41	3	137	9	216

	Demining Accidents							Total
	LAF	Armor Group	BACTEC	MAG	NPA	SRSA	DCC	(Injury/Death)
Injured	12	3	1	2	0	0	4	22
Killed	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Total (LAF/Company)	20	3	1	2	0	0	4	30

	Civilian Accidents						
	Children (0 -12)		Youth (13 -18)		Adult (19 +)		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	(Injury/Death)
Injured	20	4	36	3	92	9	164
Killed	2	0	5	0	15	0	22
Total (Age/Gender)	22	4	41	3	107	9	186

The table above also illustrates many of the casualties in south Lebanon from the August 14, 2006 ceasefire to December 19, 2006. On average there are approximately three casualties each week caused by unexploded US cluster bombs fired by Israel coming into contact with the Lebanese population. These charts to not include all the incidents with casualties because record keeping and information gathering/sharing is still not what it should be in the south of Lebanon.



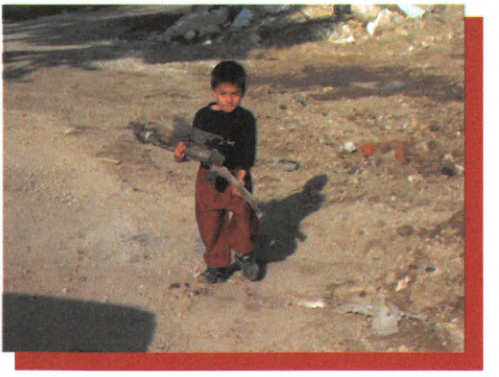
Of all of the Arab countries, perhaps Qatar is most visible today in Lebanon helping the people recover and try to reconstruct their lives. Many billboards like this one warn citizens of the dangers of unexploded ordnance and at the same time massive rebuilding projects, for example in Bint Jbeil and the surrounding areas are being organized and paid for by the people and government of Qatar.

Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates are also doing tremendous work in helping the Lebanese population recover as is UNICEF is warning people what to look out for.

A boy was discovered playing with a detonation ribbon from a US M-42 cluster bomb on the road outside of Zibquin, an area heavily bombed by Israel during the July war. The lad told one American researcher that he got it from one of his playmates

Can you see the US cluster bomb five feet to the left of this child's bicycle. She did not see it until a friend showed her.

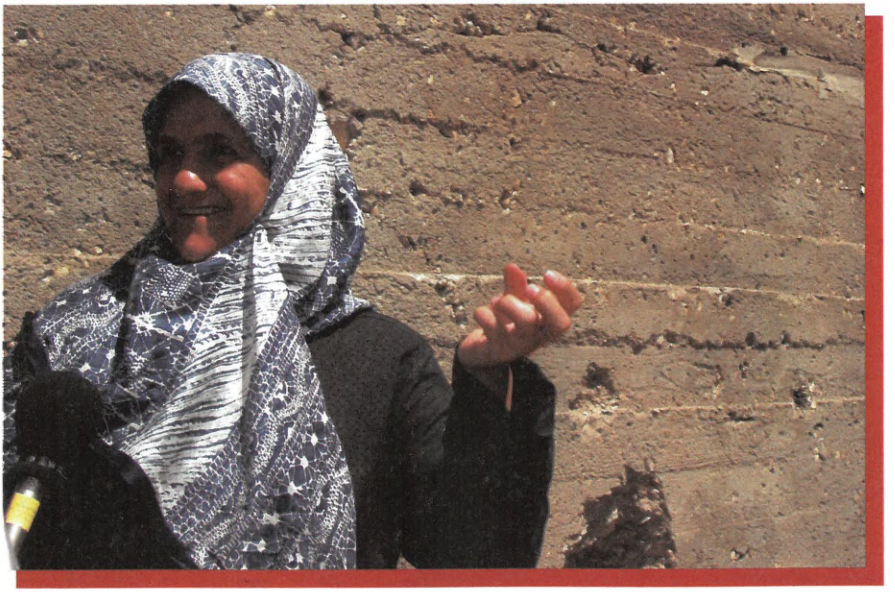
Other Arab and European countries are helping children such as these cope with the trauma of the latest Israeli attack on their country. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Sidon explained to a researcher that there are now three generations of Lebanese and Palestinians, who have had to endure US funded Israeli aggressions, starting with those refugees who were ethnically cleansed in 1948 during the al Nakba. Today, children who are orphaned receive nurturing from Non-Governmental Organizations as well as international institutions. But there is so much more that desperately needs to be done.

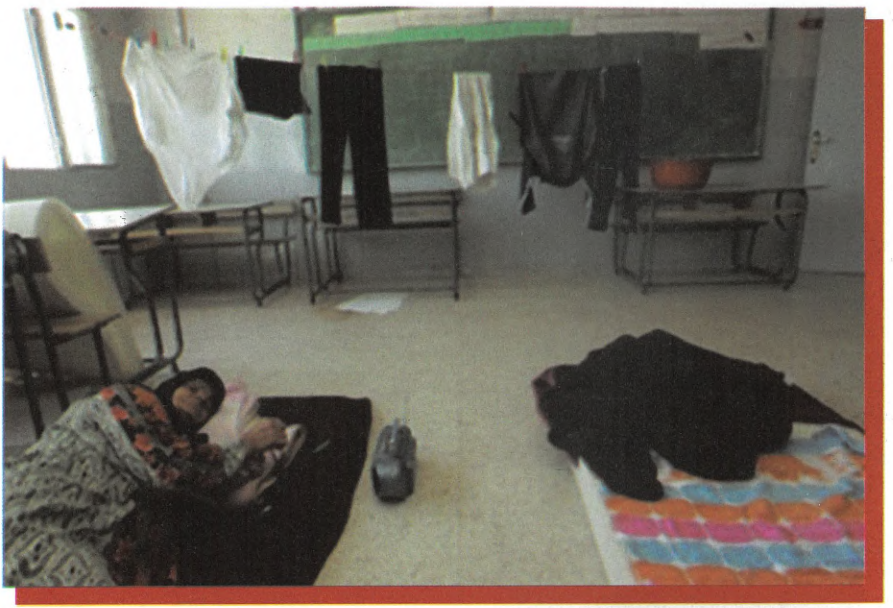


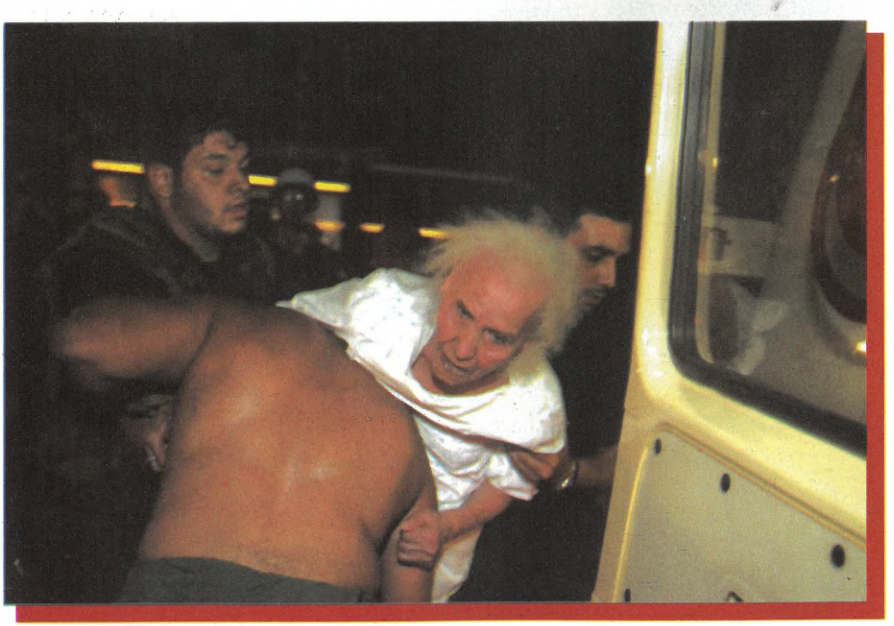
As winter comes to the beautiful mountain villages of Lebanon the ground will be frozen. The UN has provided some tents but so far without heaters. The population works to collect what wood they can for the winter months.

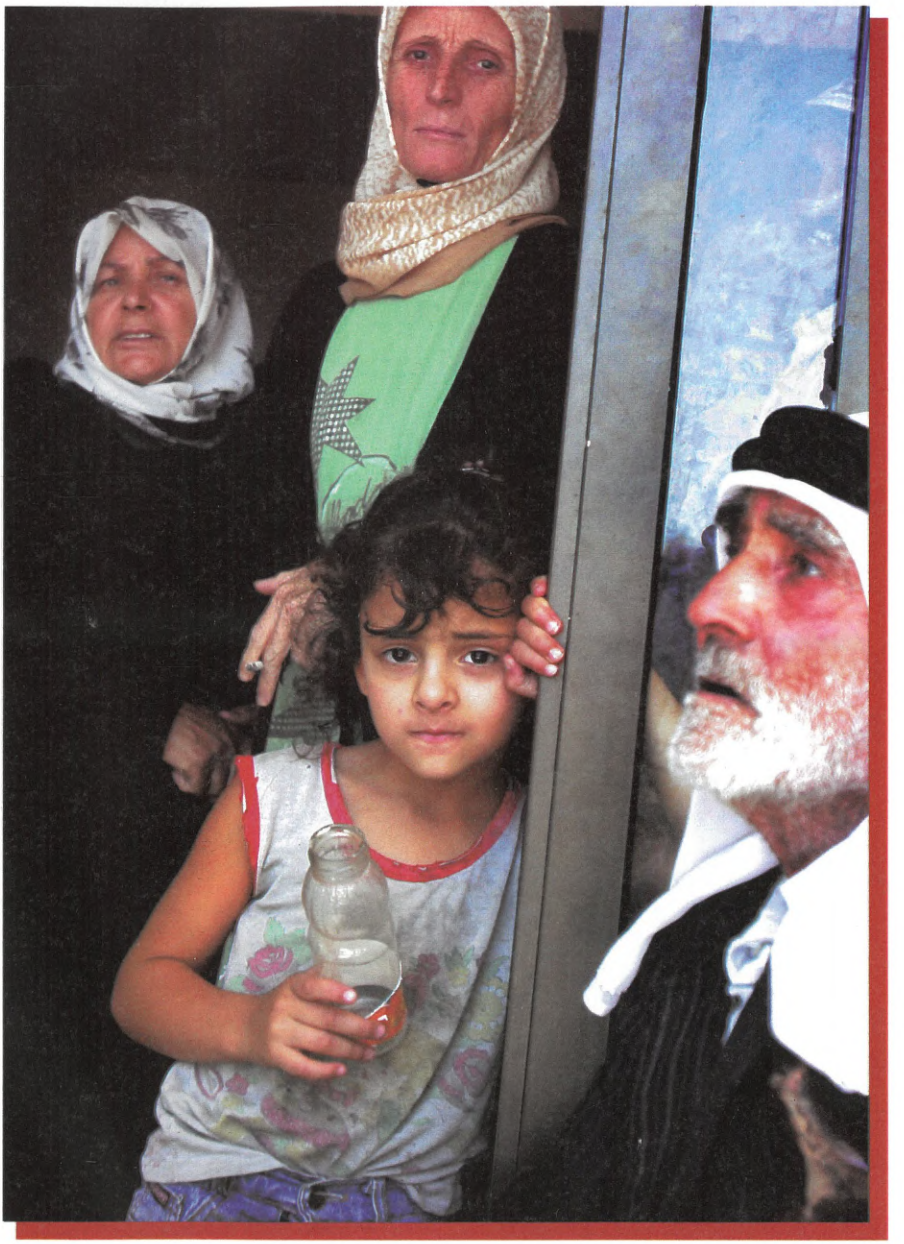
Village children soon joined some strange foreigners with the project

As we know, youth are resilient. They are amazing how they seem to cope. It is the senior generation who are perhaps most traumatized some who became our friends...and one who died in the hands of her son are honored below









This woman reminds one of the reaearchers of grandmere

WITH US WEAPONS

16000 ATTACKS 7400 TARGETS

250 VILLAGES DESTROYED 400 VILLAGES DAMAGED

More than 1,300 CIVILIANS KILLED 5000 CIVILIANS INJURED

950 000 DISPLACED 30 000 PRIVATE HOMES DESTROYED

32,000 WITH MAJOR DAMAGE 70 000 WITH MINOR DAMAGE

350 SCHOOLS (DESTROYED / DAMAGED)

BEIRUT AIRPORT 3 MAIN PORTS BOMBED

137 BRIDGES AND OVERPASSES 94 ROADS DESTROYED

26 FUEL STATIONS 3 MAIN FUEL STORAGE TANKS

950 COMMERCIAL ENTREPRISES 23 LARGE FACTORIES DESTROYED

2 800 SMALL BUSINESSES (DESTROYED / DAMAGED)

VEHICULE WITH MEDICAL SUPPLIES / CLEARLY MARKED AMBULANCE

96 TELECOMMUNICATION MAIN AND SUB NET WORKS BOMBED 18 TOWERS

2 RADIO STATIONS 2 TV BROADCASTING CENTERS DESTROYED

330 MAIN AND SECONDARY WATER DISTRIUBTION NET WORKS BOMBED

186 PURIFICATION, CHLORINATION, STORAGE AND PUMPING STATIONS

150 ELECTRICAL TRANSFORMERS BOMBED

50 HEALTLH CARE FACILITIES DESTORYED OR SEVERELY DAMAGED

2 MAJOR HOSPITALS

150 KM OF COSTLINE CONTAMINATED

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: DESTROYED NEIGHBOURHOOD IN DAHIYEH, BEIRUT, SEPTEMBER 2006

Photography: Caroline Dagher, September 2006

Israel's Psyops Campaign in Lebanon: July/August 2006

"The bottom line is this: Peace will come to Israel and the Middle East only when the Israeli government is willing to comply with international law, with the Roadmap for Peace, with official American policy, with the wishes of a majority of its own citizens--and honor its own previous commitments--by accepting its legal borders. All Arab neighbors must pledge to honor Israel's right to live in peace under these conditions. The United States is squandering international prestige and goodwill and intensifying global anti-American terrorism by unofficially condoning or abetting the Israeli confiscation and colonization of Palestinian territories. It will be a tragedy--for the Israelis, the Palestinians, and the world--if peace is rejected and a system of oppression, apartheid and sustained violence is permitted to prevail.

President Jimmy Carter 2/12/07

Israel's quarter-century use of US aircraft, propaganda bombs, and artillery shells to deliver propaganda, disinformation, and collaborator recruitment leaflets across Lebanon

During the 2006 Israeli war against Lebanon, the IDF dropped approximately eighty-five propaganda and disinformation psychological warfare leaflets bombs (M-129E2) almost daily across Lebanon. The leaflets were dropped from US fighter aircraft using leaflets bombs, in containers on parachutes, and from helicopters. They were also fired from 155mm artillery shells.

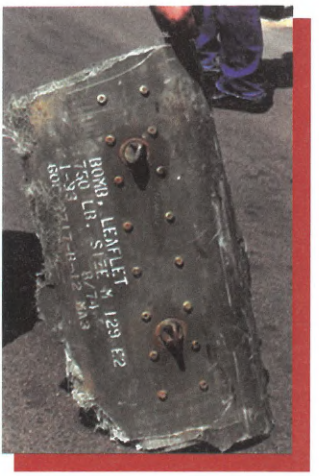
M-129E2 leaflet bomb used by Israel during the July War 2006.

The leaflet bomb is made of fiberglass and consists of a body, M-129E1, and tail section, M-148. The M129 dispenser is 7.5 long and 16 inches in diameter. Its empty weight is about 115 pounds and when loaded with leaflets, approximately 225 pounds. It is split longitudinally into two sections held together by four latches

on each side. The bomb can carry about 30,000 5 1/4 x 8 inch machine-rolled leaflets printed on sixteenpound paper stock. The bomb can hold as many as 60,000 to 80,000 smaller standard sized leaflets.

The method of loading is to place six fourteen 1/2 inch diameter rolls and one twelve 1/2 inch diameter roll inside the dispenser. Before the leaflets are placed in the bomb a detonating cord is placed in the seam between the two halves. When the bomb is released, the fuse functions at a predetermined time detonating the primer cord, separating the two body sections, detaching the fins, and releasing the leaflets. The M-129 is dropped from fixed wing aircraft. Israel dropped them from American F-16s. The Air Force has been using the 200-lb. In 2005, the US gave the last of these aging canisters to Israel. They are no longer in the US inventory.

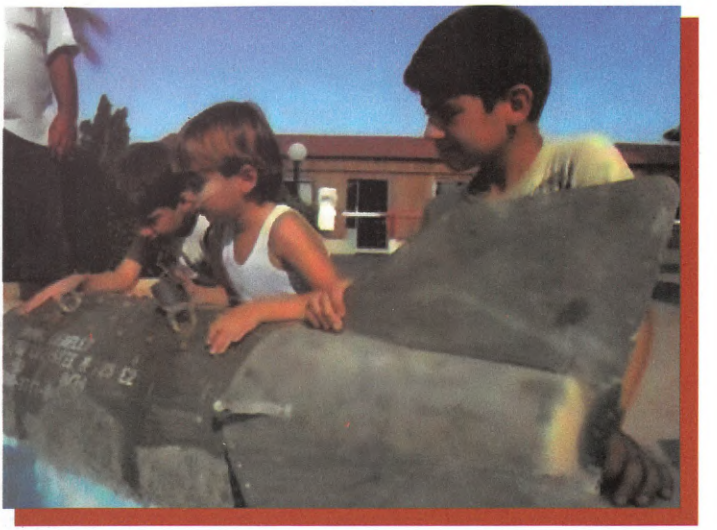
The US M-129E2 propaganda leaflet bomb gifted to Israel as surplus being loaded.



Fragment of a M-129E2 leaflet bomb that was dropped on Sidon, south Lebanon, and July 24, 2006.

The American M-129E1/E2 psychological operations leaflet bomb is a device used for dropping large quantities of propaganda leaflets from high flying aircraft, to insure their reaching their targets with a minimum of drift caused by air currents. Hundreds of the M-129s were given free to Israel as part of the surplus weapons program which was designed to supply Israel with additional weapons at not cost.

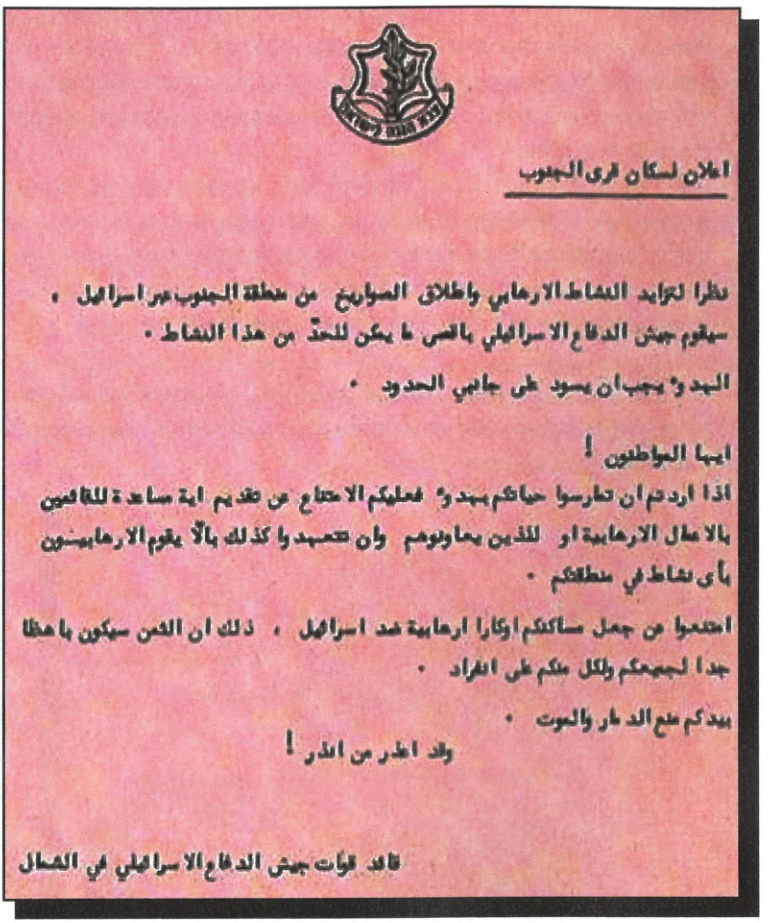
The above photo was taken at the village of Al Bazurya on July 19, 2006.



Lebanese children examine what's left of one of hundreds of M-129E2 leaflet bombs that were dropped on Lebanon. This one was dropped on Sidon on July 24, 2006.

It should be noted that the M-129E2, pictured above, has a shelf life manufacture date of August 1974 hence it is nearly thirty-three years old and long out of the US inventory. Others were dated 1973. Thousands were gifted to Israel as surplus. Due to its age it sometimes malfunctions and the fuse which is designed to blow open the canister misfires and burns the propaganda leaflets.

Like the CBU-58/B cluster bomb its age and garbage status made is easily donated to Israel.The Israeli army expanded its Psychological Warfare Unit in 2005. Israel has never dropped so many threatening and collaborator-seeking leaflets as in July and August 2006. During the conflict, there were at least fourty-seven leaflet missions over Lebanon, with a total of more then 17,000,000 leaflets dropped. In addition, more than 700,000 computerized voice messages were computer generated and delivered to citizens in Lebanon. Israel has used psychological warfare leaflets and US leaflet delivery systems for more than a quarter century in Lebanon.



اعلان لسكان قرى الجنوب

نظرا لتزايد النشاط الارهابي واطلاق الصواريخ من منطقة الجنوب عبر اسرائيل ، سيقوم جيش الدفاع الاسرائيلي بالقضاء ما يمكن للحدّ من هذا النشاط .

البدء يجب ان يسود على جانبي الحدود .

ايها المواطنون !

اذا اردتم ان تحرسوا حياتكم بيدكم فعليكم الامتناع عن تقديم اية مساعدة للقائمين بالاعمال الارهابية او للذين يحاولونهم وان تتعهدوا كذلك بالّا يقوم الارهابيون بأي نشاط في منطقتكم .

امتنعوا من جعل مساكنكم اوكارا ارهابية ضد اسرائيل ، ذلك ان الثمن سيكون باهظا جدا لجميعكم ولكل منكم على انفراد .

بيدكم منع الدمار والموت .

واقد انذر من انذر !

قائد قوات جيش الدفاع الاسرائيلي في الشمال

IDF leaflet dropped by Israel over Lebanon during the June 6, 1982 invasion and occupation of Lebanon. The theme and message is similar to some used in 2006 and it reads as follows:

Announcement to the inhabitants of the southern villages.

Due to the increase in terrorist activity and the launching of missiles from the south into Israel, the Israeli Defense Forces will act to curtail these activities.

Calm must prevail on both sides of the border.

People!
If you want to pursue your day to day life in peace you must cease providing assistance to those engaging in terrorist acts or those helping them, and you should take it upon yourself to insure that no terrorist activity takes place in your area.
Don't allow your homes to become terrorist dens against Israel or the price will be very costly for all of you both collectively and individually.
It is in your hands to stop the destruction and death.
There will be no excuse for those who have been forewarned.
The Commander of the Northern Israeli Defense Force.

At the same time Israel was dropping leaflets on Lebanon it also continued to use them in occupied Palestine such as the one picture below which was dropped over the Gaza Strip in September 2005:

إلى سكان شمال قطاع غزة

الأعمال الإرهابية من مناطقكم ضدنا تدفع بجيش الدفاع الاسرائيلي للرد بشدة على الذين يعرضون أمن مواطني دولة اسرائيل للخطر .

لنناشد السلطة الفلسطينية ثانية تحمل مسؤولياتها بمنع هذه الأعمال الإجرامية .

نحذركم من خطورة البقاء في المناطق التي تنطلق منها أعمال إرهابية . ونلصحكم بالتهيؤ لمغادرة بيوتكم .

أعذر من أنذر

جيش الدفاع الاسرائيلي

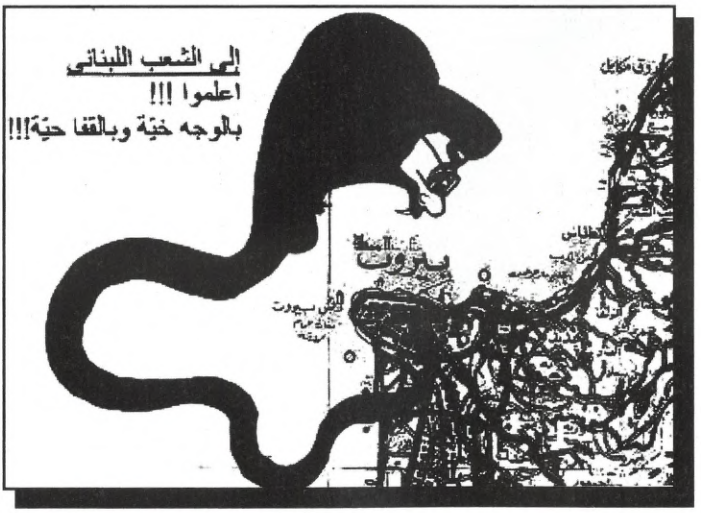
JULY-AUGUST 2006

Many of the leaflets discussed below were dropped on more than one occasion. For instance, researchers verified that in at least five instances the same leaflet was dropped on multiple days. The dissemination of the same leaflet on more than one occasion occurred on 21 July and 23 July; 24 July and 30 July; 29 July, 1 August, 4 August, 5 August, and 12 August; and 3 August and 10 August.

ISRAELI LEAFLET OF 13 JULY

On 13 July, US supplied warplanes dropped thousands of leaflets over South Beirut. The leaflet is text says:

To the Inhabitants of Lebanon
Due to the terrorist activities carried out by Hezbollah which destroys the effort to find a brighter future for Lebanon,
The Israeli Army will continue its work within Lebanon for as long as it deems fit to protect the citizens of the State of Israel.
For your own safety and because we do not wish to cause any more civilian deaths, you are advised to avoid all places frequented by Hezbollah.
You should know that the continuation of terrorist activities against the State of Israel will be considered a double-edged sword for you and Lebanon.
The State of Israel



"Beware...he is a snake"

On 15 July, Israeli planes dropped packages of leaflets on downtown Beirut attacking Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah and depicting him as a cobra with his black turban rolled into the shape of the snake's hood and about to swallow the

Lebanese capital. The text of the green leaflet reads:
To the Lebanese people, Beware!!!
He appears to be a brother, but he is a snake.

A second version of the same leaflet was also dropped on July 15. This is almost identical except that there are some minor changes in the cobra's hood and there is no text to the left of the snake presumably for those who do not read Arabic.

A third leaflet was dropped on 15 July depicting the Hezbollah leader at the lower right in a bunker while the IDF kills Lebanese civilians out in the open and threatened that Israel would increase its bombardment of Hezbollah:
Let it be known that continued terrorism against Israel will not allow you to be in peace.
At the same time, Israel bombed the political headquarters of Hezbollah and the party's television station, Al-Manar.

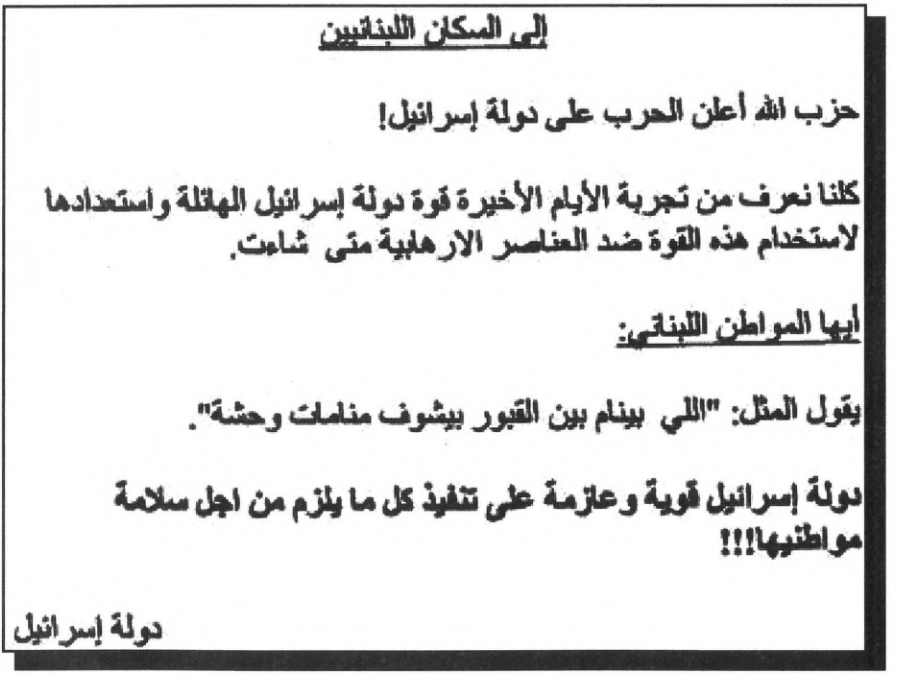
On 16 July, Israeli warplanes dropped two different propaganda leaflets over southern Lebanon warning of more attacks.

The first leaflet includes references to President Bashar Assad of Syria, Hamas chief Khaled Meshaal and Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. In this leaflet Hassan Nasrallah is a cobra is dancing to the tune of the flute-playing leaders of Iran, Syria and the Palestinian group Hamas. The cartoon shows two bombs within the cobra's hood, while the foreign leaders sit cross-legged on a map of Lebanon. The Nasrallah-snake says:
Need any favors?

The Second leaflet was an all text leaflet dropped over downtown Beirut and the south Beirut neighborhoods of AL Darihiya:
To The Residents of Lebanon
The Israeli army will increase its actions in Lebanon against the continuing terrorist actions of Hezbollah to defend the citizens of the state of Israel.
For the sake of your own safety, and in our wish not to harm any civilians that are not implicated, you must keep away from the locations where Hezbollah is present and acting against the state of Israel. Including:
Locations where missiles are fired in the direction of the state of Israel.
Locations of Hezbollah's arsenals and military equipment.

350 Hezbollah's centers south of Beirut and areas under its control in the south of Lebanon.
Beirut's southern suburb, the center of terrorism.
The Israeli defense army calls on the Lebanese residents and Lebanese army to refrain from aiding, either directly or indirectly, elements of Hezbollah. Anyone who does will be putting their life in danger.
Know that the persistence of terrorism against the state of Israel is keeping you from a better future.
The State of Israel

ISRAELI LEAFLET - 17 JULY



إلى السكان اللبنانيين

حزب الله أعلن الحرب على دولة إسرائيل!

كلنا نعرف من تجربة الأيام الأخيرة قوة دولة إسرائيل الهائلة واستعدادها لاستخدام هذه القوة ضد العناصر الارهابية متى شاءت.

أيها المواطن اللبناني:

يقول المثل: "اللي بينام بين القبور بيشوف منامات وحشة".

دولة إسرائيل قوية وعازمة على تنفيذ كل ما يلزم من اجل سلامة مواطنيها!!!

دولة إسرائيل

Sheik Hassan Nasrallah as a puppet

On 18 July the Israelis dropped leaflets depicting Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah as a puppet. Like the cobra leaflet depicted above, they were dropped with and without accompanying text. The hands that control the Hezbollah leader are labeled Syria and Iran. The text reads:

To Lebanese citizens

How long?

How long will you be marionettes in the hands of Syria and Iran?

How long will Hezbollah, the Fifth Column, continue to put your independence and safety in danger?

Hezbollah and its leader are hurting the peace and prosperity of Lebanon that was created only after a great effort.

Israel will continue to use all of its power to strike Hezbollah and to bring peace back to the area.

The State of Israel

352

ISRAELI LEAFLET - 18 JULY

An all-text leaflet was also dropped on 18 July.

إلى السكان اللبنانيين

انتبهوا إلى هذه التعليمات!!!

سيصعد جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي من أعماله وسيقصف بقوة شديدة كل منطقة تطلق منها الصواريخ باتجاه دولة إسرائيل.

كل من يتواجد بالمنطقة يعرض حياته للخطر!

إضافة إلى ذلك كل سيارة بيك آب أو شاحنة تتحرك جنوباً للبطانى تعتبر سيارة مشبوهة تحمل الصواريخ والعتاد العسكري معرضة للقصف.

عليكم أن تعلموا أن كل من يتحرك بسيارات البيك آب أو الشاحنات يعرض حياته للخطر.

دولة إسرائيل

IDF leaflet dropped over the villages of Al Bazurya and Avasya on July 19, 2006.

Warning leaflets were airdropped on 19 July over the villages of Al-Bazurya and Avasya in southern Lebanon to advise residents of coming IDF strikes on missile launch sites and cautioning that anyone near the sites is there at significant risk to their life. Likewise, the warnings advised that any vans or trucks moving south of the Litani River will be considered suspect in the transport of rockets and terror equipment and subject to attack by IDF.

The leaflets said in part:

> Stay clear of areas from which rockets are launched against Israel. These areas will become targets for the Israeli Air Force. Civilians remaining in these areas are endangering their lives.

Any truck or pickup truck traveling south of the Litani River will be suspected of transporting weapons and rockets and will therefore be a potential target for the Israeli army.

sraeli leaflets dropping

Sheik Hassan Nasrallah walking off a cliff

354 On 19 July the Israelis dropped a leaflet showing the Hezbollah leaders walking off a cliff, pulling the symbolic cedar tree of Lebanon behind him.
Translation: We are standing on the edge of the abyss...and we are determined to march forward

All for Lebanon

On 20 July, Israel dropped leaflets entitled All for Lebanon offering bribes called attractive material rewards to collaborators and to people who give information about Hezbollah that helps the Jewish state>s offensive. The rewards could be anything from cash to a new house. The leaflet depicts a Cedar of Lebanon at the left and is all text at the right. A rough translation of the text in part is:

A brief message to the Lebanese people

> We turn to all those who can and want to help Lebanon, to remove the Hezbollah scar from your hearts and the heart of Lebanon, and to return to the previous period of independence and achievement.
>
> Put aside sayings and slogans and contact us at the following addresses.
>
> 00-41-79-7886237 – 00-88-16-214-65627 – Info@all4Lebanon.org
>
> No caller's identity will be revealed. Secrecy is guaranteed and the reward we offer is tempting.
>
> We would accept with great appreciation any information that can

contribute to restoring quiet to the area, so that we can fight terrorists efficiently and carefully. Please help us so that we can help you protect Lebanon from this evil, and return life to the normal routine.
For your own wellbeing, contact us from places where no one knows you.

At the same time, there were a number of reports of Israel sending phone calls to Lebanese civilians. Some of the calls are as early as 5:30 a.m. They continue throughout the day with such recorded threatening messages such as:

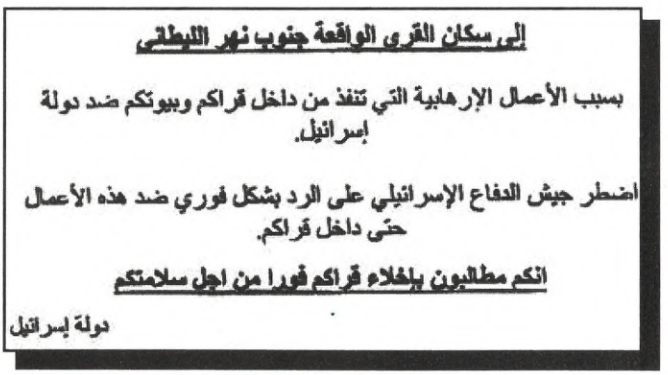
Oh Lebanese people, we tell you not to follow Hezbollah. We will continue to strike and no one will bring your prisoners back from Israel except the Lebanese government.
Hassan, have you realized yet that the Israeli army not as delicate as a spider>s web? It>s a web of steel that will strangle you!
This is the state of Israel. This resistance is forcing you to stay at home like rats.
Who is it that's putting your life in danger? Who is using you as human shields?
We don't want to harm you. We're bombing the infrastructure so Hezbollah will have no means of firing its rockets.
We know you wanted to hit Israel, but you have confronted a house made of steel. This is the Israel Defense Forces.

Other calls indicated that the Israeli state would not stop the attacks and asking everyone to leave the area south of the Litani.

All4Lebanon.org

Meanwhile, a source believed to be Israeli Intelligence uploaded the Internet website All4Lebanon.org with a logo in the Lebanese national colors of red, white, and green incorporating a cedar tree and text in Arabic, English, and French. The website would seem to be an Israeli grey propaganda operation. Some of the website message is:

Let us not be content with words! Whoever is able and willing to help Lebanon eradicate Hezbollah's evil and get back its independence, freedom and prosperity, whoever has information that could promote this purpose, is hereby invited to contact us at one of the addresses listed below. You may enter your personal details, but you can also provide your information anonymously.Secrecy and appropriate financial reward are guaranteed.
Any information that will help us restore peace in the area and fight terror carefully and effectively would be welcome. Help us root out this evil and restore normal life to all the people who live in the region. For your own safety, please contact us from places where no one knows you.Two phone numbers are listed along with one Internet address.


إلى سكان القرى الواقعة جنوب نهر الليطاني

بسبب الأعمال الإرهابية التي تنفذ من داخل قراكم وبيوتكم ضد دولة إسرائيل.

اضطر جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي على الرد بشكل فوري ضد هذه الأعمال حتى داخل قراكم.

انكم مطالبون بإخلاء قراكم فورا من اجل سلامتكم

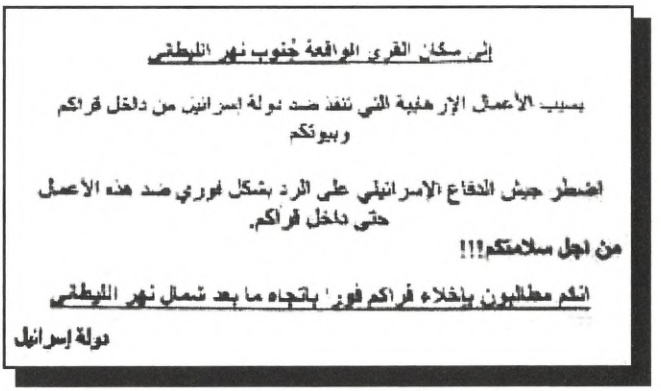
دولة إسرائيل

Leaflet addressed to Litani River Villages Residents.

On 21 July and again on 23 July, Israeli planes dropped leaflets warning residents to flee for safety beyond the Litani River, about thirteen miles from the border. This was made more difficult after an Israeli air strike hit one of the few remaining crossings over the river early the previous day, trapping hundreds of cars on the southern bank.

The leaflets say:

> To the People in the Villages South of the Litani River
> Because of terrorist activities made from inside your villages and your homes against the State of Israel.
> The Israeli Defense Forces must react directly and immediately against these activities inside your villages.
> You must immediately leave your villages for your safety
> State of Israel


إلى سكان القرى الواقعة جنوب نهر الليطاني

بسبب الأعمال الإرهابية التي تنفذ ضد دولة إسرائيل من داخل قراكم وبيوتكم

اضطر جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي على الرد بشكل فوري ضد هذه الأعمال حتى داخل قراكم.

من اجل سلامتكم!!!

انكم مطالبون بإخلاء قراكم فورا باتجاه ما بعد شمال نهر الليطاني

دولة إسرائيل

Second leaflet addressed to Litani River Villages Residents

A second almost identical leaflet was dropped with just two minor additions to make the instructions more clear and tell the Lebanese exactly where the Israelis wanted them to go:

> To the People in the Villages South of al-Litani River
> Because of terrorist activities made from inside your villages and your homes against the State of Israel.
> The Israel Defense Forces must respond directly and immediately against these activities inside your villages.
> For your safety!!!
> You are ordered to immediately evacuate your villages and move north of the Litani River.
> State of Israel

Lebanese girl holds leaflet dropped on 22 July

Leaflet depicting Hassan Nasrallah hiding behind a Lebanese family

On 22 July, Israeli planes dropped leaflets over the southern city of Tyre. The leaflets depict Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah hiding behind a Lebanese family represented by a husband, wife and son in bondage. The husband clearly represents Lebanon since a cedar tree is depicted on his shirt. The text reads:

Your defenders are your destroyers.

There is a second version of this leaflet that is almost identical except it contains one added line. That leaflet was dropped on July 25.

إلى عناصر ومؤيدي حزب الله

يستمر حسن في تضليلكم وخداعكم

يدعي حسن بان قيادة الحزب مستمرة في العمل بشكل جيد وآمن لكن لماذا لا يظهر أمامكم علنا وفضل تعليق صوره في شوارع بيروت بدلا عن ذلك؟

أين هو نعيم قاسم؟
أين هو إبراهيم أمين السيد ؟
أين هو هاشم صفي الدين ؟

حسن متأكد بان الضرر قد حصل فقط على منصة واحدة أو اثنتين لإطلاق الصواريخ إذا نظر حسن للحظة واحدة من مغارته سيفاجئ عندما يكتشف بان الكثير من منصات إطلاق الصواريخ ومن مطلقي الصواريخ قد ضربوا.

في حديثه الأخير هاجم حسن الزعماء العرب وتجاهل وجود المجتمع الدولي.

هل هذا ما تريدون للبنان معزول , محاصر وموجود تحت رحمة سوريا وإيران؟

الحقيقة الوحيدة في أقواله أن هذه هي البداية فقط

ISRAELI LEAFLET - 23 JULY

Two more all text leaflets were dropped on 23 July. One was the warning leaflet for residents to flee for safety beyond the Litani River first dropped on 21 July, the other is an all text leaflet.

Leaflets were dropped on Sidon, south Lebanon, on 24 July. Fragments of an American-made antiquated M-129 leaflet bomb were found and numerous photographs of the fragment were published are und the world.

إلى عناصر ميليشيا حزب الله

هل تظنون حقا أن ساحة القتال تبدو كما في الأفلام الدعائية لقناة المنار, أي بمكنكم الجري برمش العين إلى أعلى الهضاب؟

هل أمنتم لزعماتكم الذين قالوا لكم أن الذين أمامكم ليسوا إلا نسيج عنكبوت وسيتمزق أمامكم؟

لقد كذبوا عليكم طيلة هذه السنوات ويكذبون عليكم الآن .

تعرفون جيدا انه تم إرسالكم كالغنم للذبح بنقصكم العتاد والتدريب .

تعرفون أن تطمينات زعماؤكم لا تكفي من اجل وقفة صامدة أمام جنود تلقوا كل التدريب ويدافعون عن وطنهم شعبهم وبيتهم .

لستم إلا مرتزقة والشعب اللبناني لا يدعمكم .

اهربوا بعيدا بعيدا قدر المستطاع وانقذوا أنفسكم .

ISRAELI LEAFLET - 24 JULY

The same leaflet was dropped again on 30 July. The text translated as:

To Hezbollah militia activists

Do you really think that the battlefield looks like the propaganda clips on al-Manar TV, and that you could sprint so fast and easily up the highest hills?

Did you believe your leaders, who told you that those facing you are nothing but spider webs easily torn down by you?

They lied to you all these years; they are lying to you now.

You know very well that you were sent like sheep to be butchered, lacking military training and without proper combat gear.

You know very well that the reassuring words of your leaders are not sufficient for a resilient standing against highly trained soldiers that fight to protect their homeland, their people and their home.

You are nothing but mercenary, and the Lebanese people do not support you.

Run as far as you can, save your souls.

At the same time, *The Guardian Unlimited* published a report that Israel was directing a multimedia propaganda campaign at the besieged people of Southern Lebanon.Mobile phone users were being bombarded with text messages and phone calls, and a local radio station had suddenly reported broadcast from the Israeli government's point of view.

Each day Israeli planes dropped propaganda bombs, which burst to send leaflets fluttering down on to streets and rooftops. Leaflets dropped yesterday morning described the Hezbollah leader, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, as a coward who hid in a cave while the Lebanese people suffered the consequences of his actions. He has attacked Arab leaders and ignored the international community; is this what you want for Lebanon? it asked.

Meanwhile mobile phone users regularly received messages sent to their phones which appeared as news updates, attempting to discredit Nasrallah or the his party. Titled News a message sent early yesterday reported that the Hezbollah leader had prepared a secure bunker for himself and other senior Hezbollah officials to flee to in Syria.

The Israeli forces also resurrected the old Voice of Lebanon radio station, once operated by Israel's military ally the south Lebanon army before it was defeated by Hezbollah in 2000. Previously funded by Israel, frequency 103.7 is once again broadcasting the Israeli line. Why do those people blame Israel for defending itself against terrorism? the commentator asks in Arabic. Why should we let terrorists bomb our homes?

The Frog and the Scorpion

One interesting leaflet used an old adage to warn the Lebanese people that creatures that kill cannot change their nature. The green leaflet depicts Hassan Nasrallah as a scorpion crossing a river on the back of a frog, symbolically Lebanon. The frog asks the scorpion:
Why, why are you stinging me? Hassan Nasrallah answers:To sting is my nature.
This leaflet is based on an old Aesop's fable 'The Scorpion and the Frog'.
A scorpion and a frog meet on the bank of a stream and the scorpion asks the frog to carry him across on its back. The frog asks, "How do I know you won't sting me?"
The scorpion says, "Because if I do, I will die too."
The frog is satisfied, and they set out, but in midstream, the scorpion stings the frog. The frog feels the onset of paralysis and starts to sink, knowing they both will drown, but has just enough time to gasp "Why?"
Replies the scorpion: "It's my nature..."

Hassan Nasrallah hiding behind a Lebanese family with added tex.

A second version of Nasrallah hiding behind the Lebanese family with added text was dropped on 25 July. At the same time, the Israelis reminded the

international press that they had asked the Lebanese to leave the area for their safety. The text to the right of the vignette is:

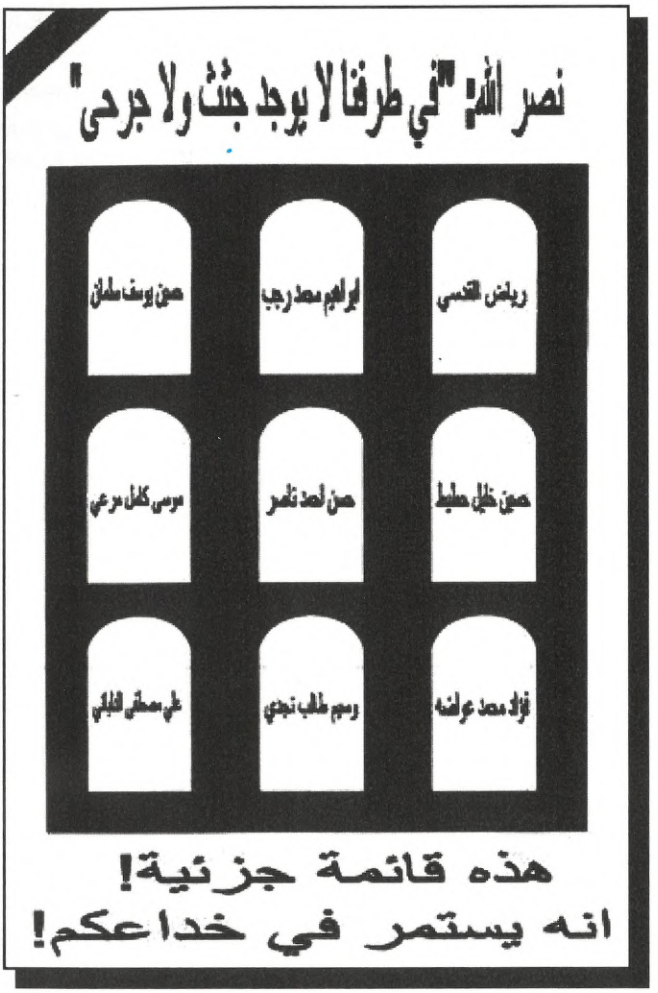
To all citizens south of the Litani River
Due to the terror activities being carried out against the State of Israel from within your villages and homes, the IDF is forced to respond immediately against these activities, even within your villages.
For your safety!!!
We call upon you to evacuate your villages for your safety and move north of the Litani River.
The State of Israel

Sheik Hassan Nasrallah behind a spider web.

On 26 July a leaflet showing the Hezbollah leader behind a spider web was dropped by Israeli aircraft. The leaflet stated:
The leatlet staded.'He promised you that Israel would be a spider's web...but he encountered a web of steel.'

In another Israeli leaflet we see a similar statement:

Hassan, have you realized yet that the Israeli army not as delicate as a spider's web? It's a web of steel that will strangle you!



The Nine Tombstones leaflet

On 26 July, Israel dropped leaflets on Sidon listing the names of nine Hezbollah fighters it claimed were killed in the battles, depicting it in the form of nine headstones with the names of dead Hezbollah fighters

Quote from Nasrallah: We don't have any dead or wounded.

The leaflet states: 'This is only a partial list! He continues to deceive you!'

Meanwhile, Israel managed to intercept the satellite transmissions of Hezbollah's al-Manar TV channel, replacing it with Israeli transmissions that reportedly showed Hezbollah command sites and rocket launching pads which Israel claimed it has raided.
Israeli technicians hacked the signal and replaced it with a 90-second spot that begins with a gun site superimposed on a crude drawing of Hezbollah's leader, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, looking at the ground. The image is punctuated by the sound of three gunshots and framed on the top with the words, Your day is coming, coming, coming. The spot goes on to show Sheik Nasrallah giving a speech in which a voice says: There is no doubt that this is the strongest air force in the area. And we can't stand up against it."It features the view from Israeli bombers striking targets in Lebanon and ends with an announcer saying, Nasrallah knows the truth, but he continues, as is his way, to drag Lebanon into destruction, to throw sand in your eyes.

The New York Sun adds: Part of this is to instill fear, the former senior Israel Defense Force official said. This is mostly aimed at the Hezbollah operative. This is instilling fear. The official added, however, that the most effective part of the message was that it proved Israel could take over Hezbollah's primary instrument of propaganda. If you could destroy al-Manar, which we all know is a platform for destroying psychological order, it is one thing. But better than destroying it is using it against them, the official said.

The Times of London stated on 28 July that Israel had encouraged Jewish students to track websites and chat rooms so that networks of US and European groups with hundreds of thousands of Jewish activists can place supportive messages. Nearly 5,000 members of the World Union of Jewish Students have downloaded special megaphone software that alerts them to anti-Israeli chat rooms or internet polls to enable them to post contrary viewpoints.

We're saying to these people that if Israel is being bashed, don't ignore it, change it, Mr. Cline said. A poll like CNN's takes just a few seconds to vote in, but if thousands take part the outcome will be changed. What's vital is that the international face of the conflict is balanced...Our problem is the foreign media shows Lebanese suffering, but not Israeli. We're bypassing that filter by distributing pictures showing how northern Israelis suffer from Katyusha rocket attacks.

366 **ISRAELI LEAFLET - 29 JULY**

إلى مواطني المنطقة

اقرؤا هذا البيان بتمعن واعملوا حسب توجيهاته

تنطلق من منطقتكم الاعمال الإرهابية البشعة المتمثلة بإطلاق الصواريخ باتجاه دولة إسرائيل.
سيعمل جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي بكل قواه ضد العصابة الإرهابية بدءا من هذه اللحظة.

من اجل سلامتكم!
عليكم إخلاء المنطقة فورا والاتجاه شمالاً
يعرض حياته للخطر كل من يتواجد في المنطقة.

دولة إسرائيل

The Israelis disseminated an all-text leaflet on 29 July. The same leaflet was dropped again on 1, 4, 5 and 12 August. The leaflet says in part:

To the Citizens of Southern Lebanon
The situation in southern Lebanon will continue to be dangerous as long as the Army of the State of Lebanon and the United Nations forces are not deployed on all of the territory of southern Lebanon.
For your safety!
We warn you to avoid the southern area until the deployment of the forces which are tasked with your protection and security in this area.
The State of Israel

إلى المواطنين اللبنانيين

حسن وعدكم ان تكون إسرائيل "بيت عنكبوت" فتفاجأ عندما اصطدم بدولة إسرائيل وجيشها "بيتاً من الفولاذ".

حسن وعدكم بان إسرائيل سترتدع من ان ترد على خرق سيادتها ولكنه تفاجأ من الحرب القاسية التي سقطت عليه وعلى حزبه ومن إصرار جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي ودولة إسرائيل .

المواطنون اللبنانيون
كالولد الذي يلعب بالكبريت, حسن أشعل النار وظن انه سيحقق أهدافه وأهداف أسياده الحقيرة ولكنه اكتشف أن نار جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي أقوى أضعاف مضاعفة مما حسب.

حسن مستمر في لعبته ومستمر في تدمير لبنان
هل سيفهم انه مخطئ ويرفع عنكم بلائي المعاناة والخراب؟
دولة إسرائيل

ISRAELI LEAFLET – SECOND OF 29 JULY

The above leaflet was also dropped on 29 July. The text reads:
To the Citizens of Lebanon
Hassan promised you that Israel would be a spider web, and then was surprised when he collided with the state of Israel and its army to find it was a web of steel.
Hassan promised you that Israel would be afraid to retaliate for the attack on it>s sovereignty but was surprised at the strength of the attack against him and his party, and of the strength of the Israeli Defense Forces and State of Israel.
Citizen of Lebanon.
Hassan ignited the fire like a child playing with matches, and thought that he would achieve his goals and his ignoble master>s goals, but discovered that the fire of the Israeli Defense Force was much stronger than he had anticipated.
Hassan continues to play his game and continues to destroy Lebanon. Will he understand that he was wrong and end your suffering and despair?
The State of Israel

368 Another all-text leaflet was dropped on 30 July. It was the same leaflet first dropped on 24 July.

نداء إلى عناصر حزب الله
بترك السلاح والتوقف عن المواجهات والاستسلام

جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي مصمّر وعازم على إزالة تهديد الصواريخ ومنع الأعمال الإرهابية المنطلقة من الأراضي اللبنانية باتجاه دولة إسرائيل.

لذلك سيستمر جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي في العمل وللمدة الضرورية بكل قوته بغية تنقية أراضي جنوب لبنان من الصواريخ ومن القواعد الإرهابية.

ليست عمليات جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي في مارون الراس, بنت جبيل والطيبة الا أمثلة على ذلك.

عناصر حزب الله في الجنوب
زعيمكم المحترم الشيخ حسن نصر الله متحصن تحت الأرض في مغارته مع عائلته وأصدقائه.
هناك من يقول بانه فر بعيدا بعيدا إلى مناطق لم تُسمَع فيها أصوات الحرب بعد, في الوقت الذي تنزف دماءكم وتحاربون من اجله ضد المصالح الوطنية اللبنانية.

ندعوكم اينما كنتم في الطيبة رب ثلاثين مركبا للوقوف دقيقة والتفكير لماذا ولمصالح من انتم تحاربون؟ وللتوصل إلى النتيجة الصحيحة وهي ترك سلاحكم والكف عن محاربة جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي والرجوع فورا إلى بيوتكم وعائلاتكم سالمين مادمتم تستطيعون ذلك.

عناصر حزب الله

حياتكم غالية وهي أغلى بكثير من الهدف الذي تموتون من اجله ومن اجل العميل الإيراني
وهي غالية وثمينة في عيون وقلوب أمهاتكم وأولادكم فحافظوا عليها من اجلهم ومن اجل مستقبلهم.

ISRAELI LEAFLET -- 31 JULY

A longer all-text message was dropped on 31 July.
A third all-text leaflet was dropped on 1 August. It is the same leaflet first dropped on 29 July.

إلى عناصر حزب الله

عملت قوات جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي الليلة الماضية بشجاعة وقوة في أوكار عصابتكم في بعلبك.

اعلموا
ان ليس باستطاعتكم الهروب من ذراعنا الطويلة وسنطالكم في كل مكان تهربون إليه سواء فوق الأرض أو تحتها.

قادتكم تخلوا عنكم وهربوا بعد أن أرسلوكم إلى موتكم من اجل مصالح أجنبية.

بقي لكم خيار واحد فقط

الاستسلام

دولة إسرائيل

ISRAELI LEAFLET -- 2 AUGUST

On 2 August, Israeli aircraft dropped leaflets over Nabatiyeh in south Lebanon calling on Hezbollah guerrillas to surrender and warning them that we will get you wherever you flee. The leaflets were dropped a day after Israeli commandos stormed a Hezbollah-run hospital in Ba'albek in eastern Lebanon, where Israel said it killed ten guerrillas and captured five. The leaflet said in part:

Israeli Defense Forces last night worked courageously and strongly against the hideouts of your gang in Baalbek. You should know that you will not be able to run way from our long arm and we will get you wherever you flee, whether over or underground.

370 Your leaders have abandoned you and fled away after sending you to death for the sake of foreign interests. You have only one alternative: surrender.

إلى مواطني بيروت

اثر استمرار إطلاق صواريخ عصابة حزب الله الإرهابية مطلقة العنان باتجاه دولة إسرائيل وتصريحات زعيم هذه العصابة الذي يستمر في المقامرة على مستقبل لبنان. ينوي جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي توسيع أعماله في بيروت.

سكان حارة حريك, بير العبد, حي المدرجي الماضي, الرويس

من اجل سلامتكم!

عليكم إخلاء هذه الأحياء فورا وكل مكان يتواجد ون وينفذوا منه عناصر حزب الله أو مساعديهم عمليات إرهابية.

اعلموا!!

ان توسيع العمليات الإرهابية لحزب الله سيؤدي إلى رد موجع وقاسي وستكون النتائج قاسية وليس فقط لعصابة حسن ومجرميها.

دولة إسرائيل

The Israelis dropped two all-text leaflets on 3 August. The text of one is:
To Beirut Residents
Due to the continued launching of wild firing rockets by the terrorist Hezbollah gang toward the state of Israel, and following the gang leader>s declarations, that continue to gamble on Lebanon's future -- the Israel Defense Force intends to widen its activities in the suburbs of Beirut.
Residents of Haret Hreik, Beer al-Abed, Hay Madi and Alweis
For your own safety!
You must immediately leave these suburbs as well as any place in which Hezbolloh terrorist, terrorist elements or their followers are taking part in terrorist activities.
Attention!
The expansion of terrorist operations by Hezbollah will lead to a painful and harsh response by the Israel Defense Force and the results will be painful not only for Hassan>s gang and its criminals.
State of Israel

إلى المواطنين اللبنانيين

عملت قوات جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي بشجاعة وقوة في بعلبك مركز عمليات العصابة الإرهابية حزب الله في إطار الدفاع عن مواطني دولة إسرائيل وإعادة جنود جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي المختطفين.

اعلموا ان جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي سيستمر بإرسال ذراعه الطويلة إلى كل مكان يتواجد به الإرهابيون من عناصر حزب الله ليضرب بهم بقوة وبإصرار وليشل إمكانياتهم في تنفيذ الأيدولوجيا المجرمة لعصابتهم ضد مواطني دولة إسرائيل.

مواطني لبنان
قوات جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي لا تعمل ضد الشعب اللبناني وإنما ضد عناصر حزب الله الإرهابية وستستمر في العمل وللمدة الضرورية التي تراها لازمة.

لا تسمحوا لعصابة حزب الله ان يحتجزونكم كرهائن ويستخدمونكم كدرع بشري من اجل مصالح أجنبية.

دولة إسرائيل

ISRAEL SECOND LEAFLET – 3 AUGUST

إلى المواطنين اللبنانيين المتواجدين جنوب نهر الليطاني

اقرؤا هذا البيان بتمعن واعملوا حسب توجيهاته

سيصعّد جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي عملياته وسيضرب ببالغ القوة العناصر الإرهابية التي تستخدمكم كدرع بشري وتطلق الصواريخ من داخل بيوتكم باتجاه دولة إسرائيل.

كل سيارة ومن أي نوع كانت تتحرك جنوب نهر الليطاني ستتعرض لانها مشبوهة بنقل الصواريخ والعتاد العسكري والمخربين.

عليكم ان تعلموا ان كل من يتحرك بأي سيارة كانت يعرض حياته للخطر.

دولة إسرائيل

Warning to cars seen moving south of the Litani River

372 On 8 August, Israeli aircraft dropped all-text leaflets over Tyre explaining that any cars seen moving in southern Lebanon on the roads south of the Litani River will be targeted. The text reads:

To Lebanese citizens located south of the Litani River
Read this statement carefully and follow its instructions.
The Israeli Defense Forces will escalate their operations and strike with extreme force against the terrorist elements that are using you as human shields and firing rockets from inside your homes at the state of Israel.
Any vehicles, no matter what type, moving south of the Litani River will be bombed, because they will be suspected of transporting rockets, military supplies or saboteurs.
You must be aware that anyone moving in any vehicle is exposing his life to danger.
The State of Israel

إلى المواطنين اللبنانيين

لأي سبب هاجم حسن دولة إسرائيل؟

هل لتحرير معتقلين لبنانيين من سجون إسرائيل؟

وكان بإمكان حسن إطلاق سراحهما منذ وقت طويل عبر المفاوضات دون أن يجلب الخراب على لبنان.

لقد خرج حسن لمغامرة خطيرة وعاد بخفي حنين.

حسن يلعب بالنار وهاهي لبنان تحترق.

راهن حسن على مستقبلكم وها انتم من يدفع الثمن.

دولة إسرائيل

ISRAELI LEAFLET -- 9 AUGUST

On 9 August, the Israelis dropped leaflets on Tyre criticizing Hezbollah leader Nasrallah. The skies above the abandoned city of Tyre were alive with

warplanes, surveillance drones and attack helicopters. The only way into Tyre is to wade across a river outside the city, since Israel bombed the makeshift bridge connecting it to the main road north. Leaflets dropped on those who chose not to flee said anyone seen on the streets would now be deemed a runner for Hezbollah. An Israeli plane dropped a canister scattering propaganda leaflets which said:
To Lebanese Citizens
Why has Hassan attacked the State of Israel?
Is it for freeing Lebanese detainees from Israeli jails?
Hassan could have released them a long time ago through serious negotiation without bringing disaster to Lebanon.
Hassan has gambled dangerously and returned with nothing.
Hassan is playing with fire and now Lebanon is burning.
Hassan has gambled with your future and now you are paying the price.
The State of Israel.

On 10 August, Israeli forces bombed the heart of the Lebanese capitol for the first time in three weeks. They warned that the Israeli Defense Forces intended to expand their operations in Beirut and blamed the leader of the gang --an apparent reference to Hezbollah leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, who made a taped television address the night before. They air-dropped leaflets over Beirut warning the residents of these suburbs to evacuate. At the same time, Israelis entered Marjayoun and warned that its fight against Hezbollah could grow wider and more severe if diplomacy fails. The leaflet is the same one first dropped on 3 August, To Beirut Residents.

At the same time, Israeli aircraft dropped leaflets over northern Lebanon for the first time. They warned that all trucks must be off the roads by 8:00 p.m. The leaflets fell north of Tripoli, Lebanon>s second largest city, some 25 kilometers from the Syrian border. The blanketed area includes the Palestinian refugee camp of Bedew. The leaflet said in part:
Any pick-up or truck of any kind moving on the coastal road as of 8:00 pm (1700 GMT) will be attacked because it is suspected of carrying rockets, military hardware and saboteurs.
You must know that anyone who moves in a pick-up or truck is endangering his life.
The State of Israel

It was unclear whether the curfew would be 24-hours a day, starting on Thursday night, or whether it was only a night-time ban on traffic.

نصر الله يخدعكم ويخفي عنكم الخسائر الكبيرة في صفوف عناصر حزب الله
فيما يلي قائمة ببعض أسماء القتلى الذين تخلى عنهم نصر الله وينكر موتهم:

القائمة الاولى

ابراهيم جلال ابراهيم جمال صالح حسن بغدادي ابراهيم زلزلي ابراهيم محمد رجب احمد حسن كوراني احمد رضى بزيع احمد سليم
نجدي احمد عساف احمد عنيسي (حبيب) احمد فقيه احمد قاسم حميد احمد مصطفى شعيتو احمد مهنا اسماعيل دولاني امين جميل
سرور انيس نعمه فقيه ابراهيم موسى (ابو مصطفى) ايهاب ضاوي بسام حسن شعيتو بسام محمد شعيتو باسم علي حبيب سرور بسام
محمد نجدي بلال عريش جمال ابو خليل جمال الحريري محمد وهبة سرور - جهاد عطية الحاج خليل امين شبلي حسام نزيه فرعوني
حسن ابراهيم السيد حسن بزيع (ابو علي) حسن جعفر حسن (مرتضى) حسن حسن قاسم حسن نور شلهوب اكرم حسن حسين فقيه حسن
رياض حسن عبد الاطرش حسان علي معتوق حسن علي يوسف غريب حسن غادر حسن قاسم حميد حسن قصير حسن كراين حسن
محمد حمادي (ابو صالح) حسن محمد عبد الكريم قاسم مختار حسن ناصر حسن وهيب ياسين بلال حسين حسن هاشم (وسام) حسين خليل
حطيط حسين طلاس حسين علي حب الله حسين علي محمد كوراني حسين علي مقداد "حيدر" حسين عماد جمعة حسين موسى حسن كميل
حسين يوسف سلمان خضر محمود قصير حيدر الفيتروني (ابو تراب) حيدر صيدا حيدر معالي خالد علي عبد الله خالد ناصر خليل حسان
خليل كامل شهاب (ابو احمد سالم) ربيع منير مكرياني رضى مدلج رياض وجيه مقدوق زيد محمود حيدر سليمان ضاهر سمير علي شهاب
سمير قنور سيد علي مرتضى شادي الوز شاكر علي صالح (خضر الحاج) وسيم شقف طريف مصطفى فارس عباس علامة عبد الامين
عز الدين عبد اللطيف محمد موسى عدنان بزيع عدنان محمد يحيى عدنان ناصر عصام ابو خليل "علاء" عقال مرحي ابراهيم علي
العراقي علي احمد مقدوق علي احمد كلاس (موسى) علي جميل حسين (جواد) حسن غندور عاطف امهز رامي ميثم

ISRAELI LEAFLET -- 11 AUGUST

On 11 August, Israeli aircraft dropped leaflets on the port city of Sidon and the capitol city of Beirut accusing Hezbollah leader Sheik Hassan Nasrallah of hiding facts about the great losses among the Hezbollah fighters. The leaflet contained the first list of names of more than ninety (other reports say 100) alleged Hezbollah members killed in fighting with Israeli troops. The leaflet said Nasrallah was killing your children for nothing. Hezbollah replied that only fifty-eight of its guerrillas died in clashes since Israel began its onslaught on Lebanon on July 12 in response to a cross-border raid by the Shi'a militia. Israel claims a total of about 300 Hezbollah guerrillas. Some of the text is:

Nasrallah is cheating you and hiding from you the great losses in the ranks of Hezbollah members.
The following is a list of some names of those killed whom Nasrallah has abandoned and denied their deaths.

Nasrallah in a Tree Leaflet
Israeli warplanes dropped leaflets over Lebanon's capital for a third straight day

on 12 August, calling on residents to shake off Hezbollah. The leaflet depicted Hezbollah leader Sheik Hassan Nasrallah peeking out from the branches of a cedar tree, Lebanon's national symbol. At about the same time the Israelis were dropping scented car fresheners with the same vignette. The text said in part:

Shake off your shoulders the destroyer of Lebanon.
You can return the cedar odor to Lebanon if you want to

Cedar tree deodorizer dropped in several areas including the Beirut business center of Downtown. Some leaflets were designed to cause splits between the resistance and Christians and were dropped mainly in Christian areas and the business districts of Beirut.

ISRAELI LEAFLET OF 12 AUGUST

Israeli's also dropped two all-text leaflets on August 12. The Israelis dropped these leaflets over West Beirut. Many were carried out to sea by a south wind. The leaflets warned Nasrallah to leave Lebanon. The message was that Hezbollah is the source of Lebanon's problems. This leaflet is the one first dropped on 29 July and then on four subsequent dates.

The IDF also hacked broadcasts of Hezbollah radio and television with recordings announcing the names of the dead Hezbollah members. One radio message stated:

Hassan sent men to fight the Israeli army, an army of steel, without preparing them. Stop listening to patriotic chants for a moment, think about it and come back to Earth.

They also cut into television broadcasts to show Israeli air attacks on Hezbollah strongholds and even cockpit camera pictures. In one instance they showed a dead guerilla while the announcer stated:

This is the corpse of one of the members of Hezbollah's Special Forces. Hassan Nasrallah lies. We're not the ones who are hiding the real numbers of our dead.

To Lebanese Citizens
Two hours before a cease-fire went into effect on Monday morning, the IDF dropped leaflets on central Beirut warning it will retaliate for any attack launched against it from Lebanon. One leaflet said in part:

To Lebanese Citizens
Hezbollah, which is serving its Iranian and the Syrian masters, has driven you to the edge of the abyss.

With its isolationist, reckless and false policy, Hezbollah has brought you many achievements: hopelessness, destruction, displacement and death.
Can you pay this price again?
Let it be known!

The Israeli Defense Forces will return and retaliate with the required force against any terrorist act that is launched from Lebanon to harm the State of Israel.

State of Israel

Building castles of illusion

Israel also dropped leaflets on 14 August depicting Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah building a sand castle threatened by a huge wave. The leaflets were planned to be dropped one hour before the cease-fire took effect. A Beirut resident says that he caught one of the leaflets in the air at 09:00 that morning in front of the St. George Hotel. The text reads:

Hezbollah's path is what destroyed Lebanon.
He built me a castle of illusions where I can only live for a few moments, and then I sit at the table with nothing but words.

THE LAST ISRAELI LEAFLET - AUGUST,15- 2006

Lebanese civilians began returning to their homes in the south as soon as the cease-fire took effect. The Israelis felt this could lead to further deaths since the Lebanese Army and UN peace-keeping troops had not yet occupied the villages of the south. The IDF dropped leaflets on 15 August warning residents displaced by the month-long conflict not to return home before the deployment of the Lebanese army. Leaflets were reported over the port city of Tyre and the city of Nabatieh about thirteen kilometers from the Israeli border.

'We warn you not to head to the southern regions before the deployment of the forces that are supposed to safeguard your security. The situation will remain dangerous in southern Lebanon as long as the state of Lebanon has not deployed the Lebanese army and international forces on all southern Lebanese territories'.

Radio Messages

In addition to leaflets Israel used radio messages to deliver warnings threats and fear to the Lebanese civilian population. These included radio messages broadcast over FM 103.7 in southern Lebanon a local station that Israeli intelligence hacked at will.

To the Lebanese citizens,
The Hezbollah that is serving Iranian and Syrian interests has driven you to the edge.
The policy of Hezbollah brought you destruction, displacement and death.
Can you afford to pay such a high price again?
Let it be known that the IDF will be back and use force against any terrorist attack launched from Lebanon against the State of Israel.
The State of Israel

This warning was reiterated in repeated radio broadcasts to southern Lebanon beginning in the early afternoon on 7 August.
Announcement to the population of southern Lebanon the IDF absolutely prohibits travel on the roads of southern Lebanon, from the line of the Litani River southwards, to the Israeli border. This applies to all vehicles. The Curfew is in effect from 22h00 on August 7. Southern Lebanon is a combat zone. Hezbollah terrorists are operating

in your area, and you are being exploited as "human shields" in order to camouflage their activities.

The Israeli army is operating against the rocket fire and other terrorist activities being carried out from your area and from Lebanon against the State of Israel.

All vehicles, of any type, traveling in the aforementioned area are liable to be attacked, endangering those traveling in the vehicles. Any person who violates these Instructions endangers himself and his passengers.

We repeat - the IDF prohibits absolutely the movement of all vehicles on the roads of Southern Lebanon.

TELEPHONE MESSAGES

EXAMPLES OF TELEPHONE AND TEXT MESSAGES RECEIVED DURING THE CONFLICT.

Examples of Warning Leaflets dropped by the Israeli Authorities

The IDF warns Lebanese civilians to evacuate villages south of the Litani River (July 25, 2006).

"He who says he is protecting you, is really robbing you."
"To all citizens south of the Litani River
Due to the terror activities being carried out against the State of Israel from within your villages and homes, the IDF is forced to respond immediately against these activities, even within your villages.
For your safety !!!
We call upon you to evacuate your villages and move north of the Litani River.
The State of Israel"

The IDF warns residents of south Lebanon to move northward (July 27, 2006)

"To residents of the region
For your personal safety
Read this announcement and act accordingly
Rockets are being fired against the State of Israel from your area.
The IDF will operate at full force against these terrorist groups effective immediately.
For your own safety, you must leave the area immediately, and travel northwards.
Anyone who remains is putting himself in danger.
The State of Israel"

The IDF announced restrictions on travel in any kind of vehicle south of the Litani River (Aug 7, 2006), which entered into effect at 2200 hours:

"To the Lebanese civilians south of the Litani River
Read this announcement carefully and follow the instructions
The IDF will escalate its operations, and will strike with great force the terrorist groups which are exploiting you as human shields, and which fire rockets from your homes at the State of Israel.
The State of Israel"

"To the citizens of the region Read this statement carefully and follow its guidance

Israel's psychological war unit also used telephone messages to the population of Lebanon during July-August 2006. These telephone messages were computer generated and sent to more than 700,000 Lebanese mainly in the South but also across Lebanon. The transcript of these messages varied, but one sent to the Lebanese Ministry of Defense on August 5,2006 at 22:30 hours was as follows:
Military operations are not against you but against Hezbollah. Do not move from your locations, we are striking Baalbek now. Inform your officer. Have you heard this message?

A Message received at Lebanese Army headquarters on August 8,2006 between 21:45 and 22:00 hours contained the voice message:

Lebanese citizens, till when you will support the resistance? Do not let Hassan Nasrallah destroy your life, your economy and your infrastructure.

On August 10, 2006 a message from the Israeli Army Air Intelligence office was received on Lebanese telephones demanding that Lebanese citizens

Stop supporting those who are throwing rockets and then flee. Hezbollah is using you and it is a shame to support such a gang. Signature: State of Israel.

On the same day a message was received at 21:00 hours by the Lebanese Army saying: Do not let Hassan Nasrallah play with your future.

n virtually every instance of Israel dropping leaflets over Lebanon, the leaflets were first presented on Israeli television in Hebrew. In some cases in Lebanon, the Hebrew version was used perhaps because someone had forgotten to remove the Hebrew version when substituting Arabic.

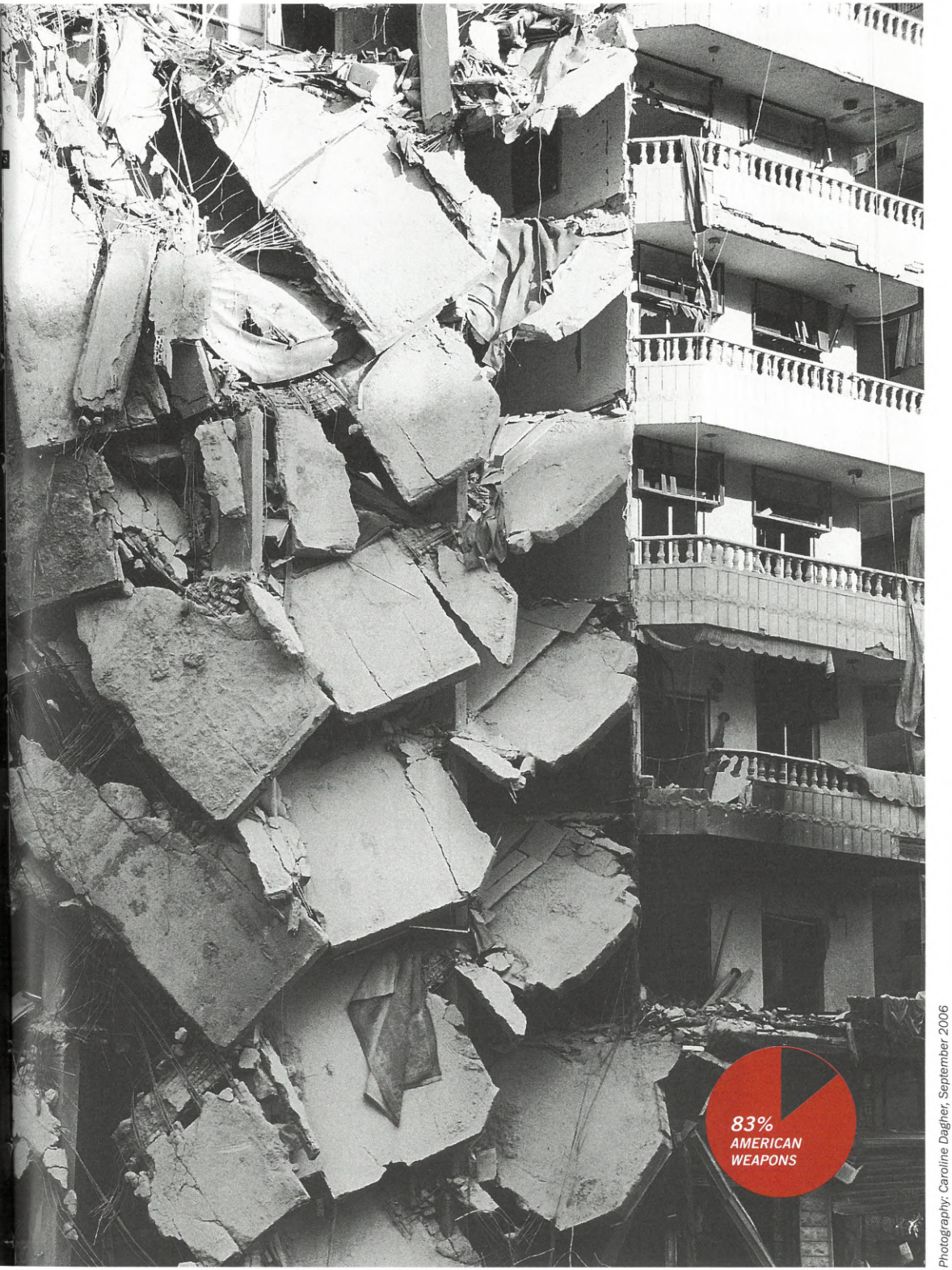
Given the fact that these leaflets do not appear to have much affect on the intended Lebanese recipients, the speculation is that the primary use of the psychological aspect was the *Israeli population*. They were shown these leaflets perhaps to encourage them and to share the contempt of their government for the Arabs of Lebanon.

The above leaflet was dropped over Lebanon with Hebrew text.

ISRAEL IS GUILTY OF SERIAL VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

Israel Violated American Law which proscribes, by transferees, the use of US weapons against any civilian population or target.

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: DESTROYED BUILDING IN DAHIYEH, BEIRUT, SEPTEMBER 2006



Photography: Caroline Dagher, September 2006

Israeli manufactured UAVs using American technology and funding used against civilians in Lebanon during July-August 2006

"Any American who allows the United States to support Israel—to support it militarily with enormous infusions of arms in the billions of dollars every year and to sustain it morally and psychologically—without loud protest should be ashamed. The time has come to stand up and be counted as Americans truly interest in justice and human rights and humanity and exhibit the conscience of us all"

Kathleen Christison, former CIA analyst 11/22/06

The US funded UAVs were employed by the IDF across Lebanon all during the war. According to the Israel air force they flew for over 5,000 hours, primarily in the south and the Bekaa valley. The air vehicles involved are believed to be Herons which have only very recently (early 2006) entered operational service, the IAI Searcher II and Elbit Hermes 450 S. Both the Hermes 450 and the Heron are capable of carrying at least two Spike missiles.

HERMES 450 (ELBIT)

The Heron UAV

The Heron UAV, largely funded by the US is larger than the Searcher Mk II the Heron can remain in the air for fouty-eight hours without refueling and is capable of flying at altitudes of 30000 feet out of range of standard anti-aircraft weapons.

In addition to their role as surveillance aircraft the locally named MK (Mother of Kamel) uses the same variety of missile carried by US helicopters including the Apache, Cobra, and Black Hawk.

The MKs are presently capable of carrying three anti-tank missiles probably of the Israeli produced Spike variety. The Spike missile is small. It weighs around five point three pounds and is approximately twenty-five inches long. It is capable of being flown into a target from a UAV by an operator or as a 'fire and forget system.

The UAVS are operated from the Palmahib IDF base north of Ashdod and on occasion from forward tactical sites. Once a target is spotted, mission control would forward the coordinates back to the IDF command post in Tel Aviv. From there it would be sent to one of the many fighter jets or attack helicopters hovering over Lebanon around the clock.

Above are photos of the Searcher Mk. II used widely in the July 2006 war and nearly daily as Israel continues to violate Lebanon's sovereignty. The Mk II is capable of flying for twelve hours without refueling. Each flight into Lebanon's airspace is a violation of UNSC Resolution 1701.

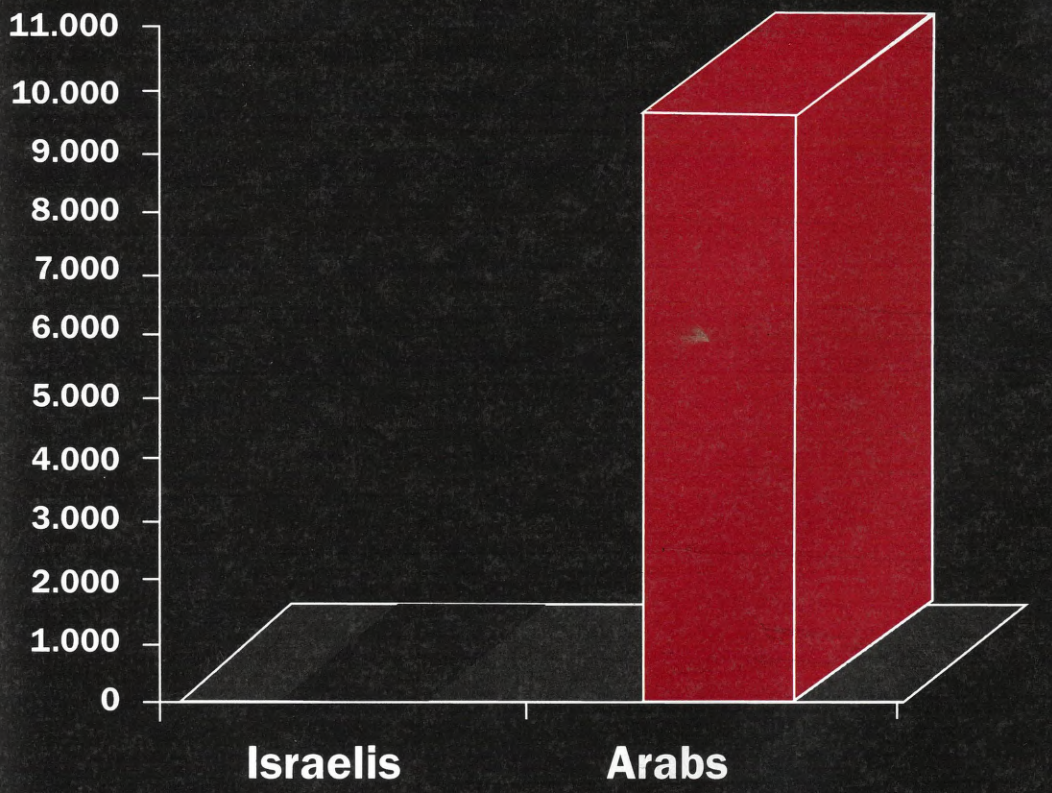
2 Israelis are being held by the Lebanese Resistance and

one by Palestinians under occupation while

more than 11,000 Palestinians and Lebanese and other Arabs are currently imprisoned by Israel

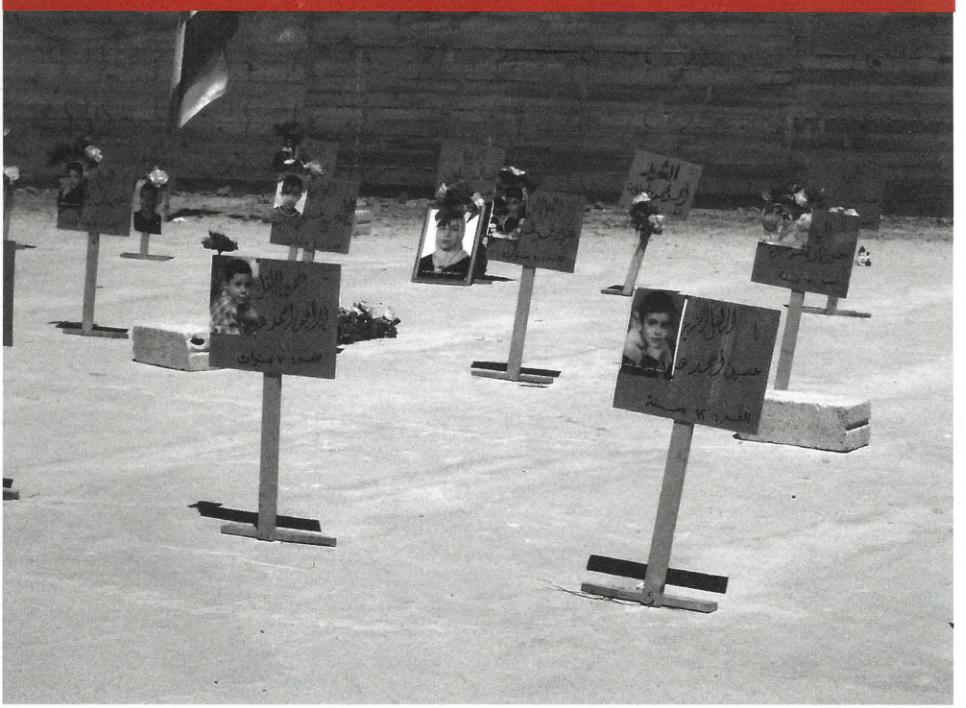
Since the beginning of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories in 1967, over 660,000 Palestinians have been detained by Israel. This forms approximately 20% of the total Palestinian population in the Occupied PalestinianTerritories. During the same period in Lebanon more than 30,000 have been imprisoned by Israel.

Political Prisoners



> *"The civilian population in Lebanon and in northern Israel has been the biggest losers in this senseless cycle of violence that is now exactly one month old...Civilians were supposed to be spared and in this conflict they are not.*
>
> *Jan Egeland, UN under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, August 10, 2006*

> *"What we did was insane and monstrous, we covered entire towns in cluster bombs...we fired 1,800 cluster bombs, containing over 1.2 million cluster bomblets.*
>
> *IDF head of rocket unit in Lebanon quoted in Ha'aretz, September 12, 2006*



PICTURE ABOVE: MEMORIAL AND PHOTOS OF SOME OF THE VICTIMS OF ISRAEL'S JULY 30, 2006 BOMBING OF A SHELTER AT QANA.

Photography: fplamb@gmail.com

IV FINDINGS OF FACT

The findings of fact presented below are based on, among other sources, the following:

- An analysis of each day's military activity reported by the Israeli government, UNIFIL, the government of Lebanon and the international media in Lebanon from July 12 through August 14, 2006.
- Interviews with Lebanese citizens who either witnessed or were involved in attacks by the armed forces of Israel.
- Interviews with or reports from human rights organizations and staff members of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Lebanese Red Cross, the Kuwaiti Red Crescent, the Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, the Jordanian Red Crescent, the Syrian Red Crescent, the Amel Association, Arc en Ciel, the Armenian Relief Cross, CARITAS. Hariri Foundation, Haya Sohyia Islamyia, Lebanese Higher Relief Committee, Makassed Welfare Association, Mouvement Social, Saint Vincent de Paul, the Association of Volunteers International, the Lebanese Civil Campaign for Relief, CARE International, Catholic Relief Services, Christian Aid, the International

Medical Corps, French Humanitarian Actions, Enfants du Monde Droits de Homme, Human Rights Watch, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, International Rescue Committee, Islamic Relief Worldwide, Medicins du Monde-France, Mercy Corps, Norwegian Refugee Council, Oxfam, Amnesty International, Polish Humanitarian Organization, Save the Children Sweden, World Vision International, World Vision Lebanon, YMCA of the USA.

- Discussions with staff and volunteers of certain United Nations agencies, including the UN Economic and Social Committee, the International Labor Organization, Mine Action Coordination Center Southern Lebanon/United Nations Mining Action Services, Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, Office of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General for Southern Lebanon, United Nations Development Program, UN High Commission for Refugees, United Nations Information Center, UN Children's Fund, UNICEF, UN Interim Force in Lebanon, UNRWA, World Food Program, Mercy Corps, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch.

- Additional sources of information included:
- Lebanese and international media reports.
- Visits to villages, town, cities, and rural areas of Lebanon, particularly Nabatiyeh Jezzine, Bint Jbeil, Sour, Marjeyoun, Hasbaya, Saida, West Bekaa, and Ba'albeck.

Caveat:

None of the above-noted NGOs, international institutions or private humanitarian organizations are responsible in any way for any of the Findings of Fact or Conclusions of Law presented in this report. They were consulted only for the purpose of gathering information and all of the conclusions and any errors or omissions in this report are solely the responsibility of the author.

- Between July 12 and August 14, a major military confrontation took place between Hezbollah and Israel, following the capture of two Israeli soldiers, and the killing of others, by Hezbollah in a raid across the 'Blue Line' between Israel and Lebanon. Israel conducted attacks throughout

Lebanon from land, sea, and air, killing more than 1,250 civilians.

- Prior to the period under immediate review, Israel has attacked the civilian population of Lebanon more than 212 times. Since 2000, it has violated Lebanon's airspace, territorial waters, and land borders more than 1,700 times. Since 1973, Israel's attacks against the civilian population of Lebanon have been conducted increasingly with American weapons.
- During more than four weeks of ground and aerial bombardment of Lebanon by the Israeli armed forces, the country's infrastructure suffered destruction on a catastrophic scale. Israeli forces reduced entire neighborhoods to rubble, turning villages into ghost towns, as their inhabitants fled. Main roads, bridges, and petrol stations were blown to bits. Entire families were killed in air strikes on their homes or their vehicles while fleeing the assaults. Scores lay buried beneath the rubble of their houses for weeks, as the Red Cross and other rescue workers were prevented from accessing the areas by Israel's continued bombardment and refusal to let them pass. The hundreds of thousands of Lebanese who fled now face the danger of unexploded munitions as they head home.

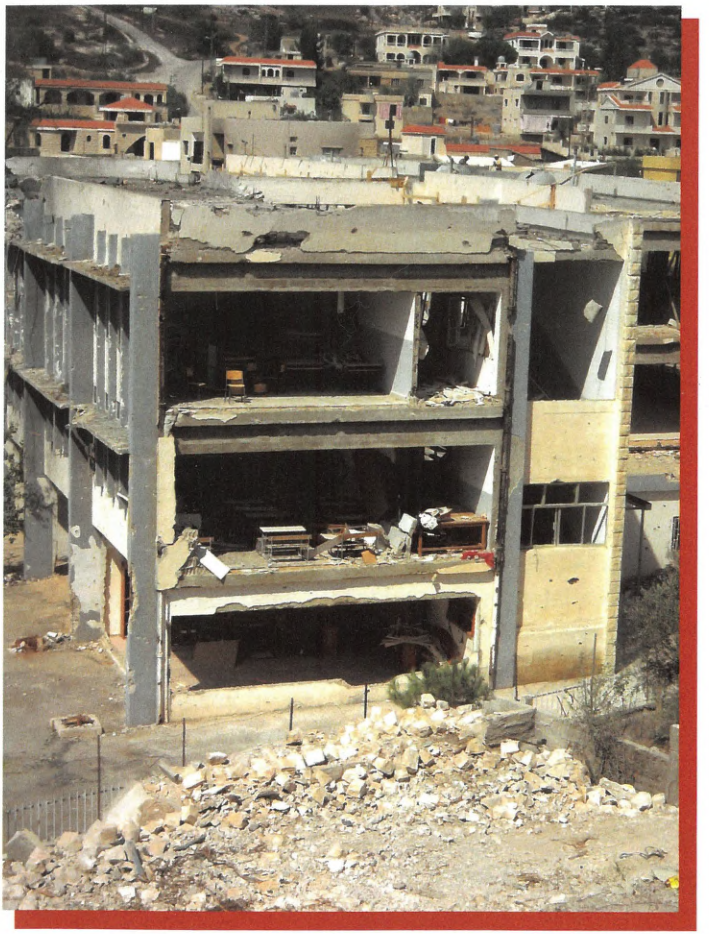
BOMBARDMENT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION WITH AMERICAN WEAPONS

- The Israeli Air Force launched more than 8,500 air attacks on about 7,100 targets in Lebanon between July 12 and August 14, while the navy conducted an additional 2,700 bombardments. The attacks, though widespread, concentrated on certain areas. Out of the estimated 1,250 Lebanese fatalities, about one third was children. In addition, more than 5,000 Lebanese were injured.
- According to the head of an Israeli Defense Forces Multiple Launch Rocket System unit in Lebanon, quoted in *Ha'aretz* on September 12, 2006, Israel dropped more than one point two million cluster bombs, as well as the outlawed phosphorous shells, during the thirty-four day war.

ISRAEL'S USE OF AMERICAN CLUSTER BOMBS IN THE SOUTH OF LEBANON AGAINST CIVILIAN TARGETS (JULY 12 THROUGH AUGUST 14, 2006)

The chart below illustrates some of the dates, places, and sites where the

394 United Nations, the Lebanese army, and Lebanese citizens are finding American cluster bombs. Virtually all of these sites are civilian areas. The chart does not include cluster bombs discovered and cleared by Hezbollah and freelance deminers, such as Abu A' Ahmad, an ex-PLO fedayeen fighter who offers his demining services free to the people of south Lebanon. Many locals seek his assistance because the wait for UN demining subcontractors, for-profit deminers, and the army's bomb disposal unit can be long.



A bombed school at Bint Jbeil

This information, painstakingly assembled is offered to the US Congress as it deliberates on the question of American arms being supplied to Israel.

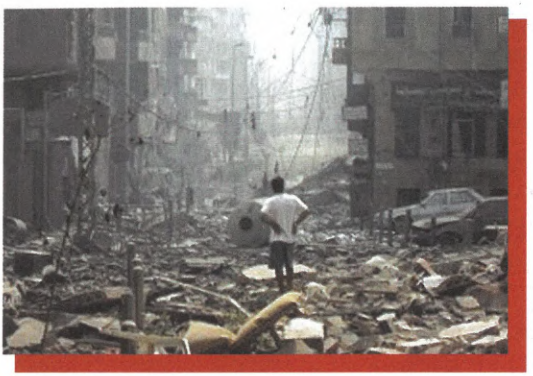
- More than 5,000 people were injured and 975,000 of the country's four million inhabitants were displaced, and the civilian infrastructure was severely damaged. The Lebanese government estimates that 31 vital points (such as airports, ports, water and sewage treatment plants, and electrical facilities) were damaged or destroyed, as were 134 bridges and ninty-four roads.
- More than thirty-two gas and fuel stations and around 950 commercial enterprises were bombed or shelled. The number of residential properties, offices, and shops completely destroyed exceeds 31,000.
- Two government hospitals in Bint Jbeil and in Meis al-Jebel were completely destroyed in Israeli attacks and three others were seriously damaged.
- An estimated 500,000 people sought shelter in Beirut, many of them in parks and public spaces without water or washing facilities.
- In scores of cases, without evidence of any militia or military presence in the area, houses were singled out for precision-guided missile attacks and damaged or destroyed.
- The densely populated southern suburbs of Beirut were carpet-bombed nonstop during one fourty-eight hour period.
- Small businesses such as supermarkets or food stores and auto service stations and petrol stations were targeted, often with precision-guided munitions and artillery that started fires and destroyed their contents. With the electricity cut off and food and other supplies not coming into the villages, the destruction of supermarkets and petrol stations played a crucial role in forcing local residents to leave. The lack of fuel also stopped residents from getting water, as water pumps require electricity or fuel-fed generators.
- This pattern of Israel's attacks, as well as the number of civilian casualties and the amount of damage sustained, makes the Israeli justification that the Israeli military was only targeting Lebanese resistance fighters led by Hezbollah appear disingenuous. The evidence strongly suggests that the extensive destruction of public works, power systems, civilian homes, and industry was deliberate and an integral part of the military strategy,

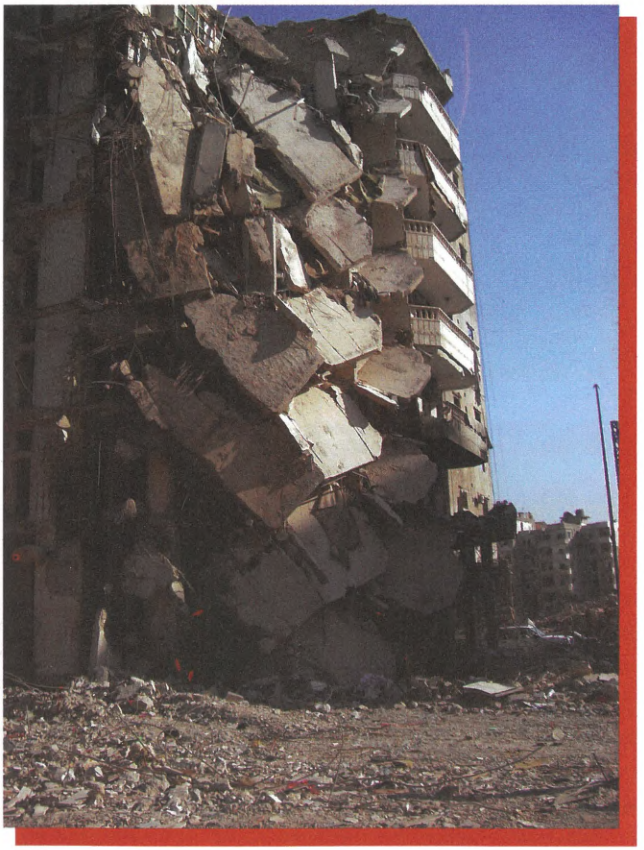
rather than collateral damage or incidental damage to civilians or civilian property resulting from targeting military objectives. Numerous statements by Israeli political and military officials support this finding of fact.

- Specifically, statements by Israeli military officials confirm that the destruction of the infrastructure was indeed a goal of the military campaign. On July 13, shortly after the air strikes began, the Israel Defense Force (IDF) Chief of Staff Lt-Gen Dan Halutz noted that all Beirut would be included among the targets. Nothing is safe [in Lebanon], as simple as that. Three days later, according to the *Jerusalem Post* newspaper, a high-ranking IDF officer threatened that Israel would destroy Lebanese power plants. On July 24, at a briefing by a high-ranking Israeli Air Force officer, reporters were told that the IDF chief of staff had ordered the military to destroy ten buildings in Beirut for every Katyusha rocket strike on Haifa.
- According to the *New York Times*, the IDF Chief of Staff said the air strikes would keep pressure on Lebanese officials and deliver a message to the Lebanese government that they must take responsibility for Hezbollah's actions. He called Hezbollah a cancer that Lebanon must get rid of, because if they don't their country will pay a very high price.
- The widespread destruction of apartments, houses, electricity and water services, roads, bridges, factories and ports, in addition to several statements by Israeli officials, suggests a policy of punishing both the Lebanese government and the civilian population in an effort to get them to turn against the Lebanese resistance. Israeli attacks did not diminish, nor did their pattern appear to change, even when it became clear that the victims of the bombardment were predominantly civilians, which was the case from the first days of the conflict.
- Records showing home and property ownership have been destroyed, adding to the difficulties of rebuilding lives.
- According to Fadl Shalak, chairman of Lebanon's Council for Development and Reconstruction, replacing the bridge connecting Mount ebanon to the Bekaa Valley above the Sulfi River on the road to Damascus would cost an estimated US $65 million. A beautiful bridge, its columns 70 meters, it's one of a kind in the whole Middle East. Why would they destroy such a bridge? he asked. They could have bombed the beginning and the end and stopped the traffic. But they made a point

to bomb this bridge several times. Another observer said, This bridge is not used by Hezbollah since it lies in a mountain resort area of Mount Lebanon, far away from the south of Lebanon. Hence it has no strategic value for the Israeli fight against Hezbollah. But it was a beautiful bridge and was the symbol of the reconstruction of Lebanon after the civil war. 397

CIVILIAN HOMES





▪ Thousands of civilian houses were destroyed in the Israeli 100 villages and towns south of the Litani river, in the suburbs of the capital Beirut, and in the town of Ba'albek and its surroundings.

▪ According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, more than 30,000 civilian homes-houses and apartments-were destroyed. This figure is almost certainly an underestimate. The same UN agency reports that an interagency assessment mission to the southern suburbs of Beirut observed extensive destruction with more than 2,500 housing units being destroyed in Haret Hreik and a further 5,000 damaged.

▪ Researchers visiting towns and villages in south Lebanon find that in village after village houses had been subject to heavy artillery shelling as well as having been destroyed by precision-guided, air-delivered munitions. The accuracy of these munitions and their trajectory were such that they struck one or more of the main support systems causing the

building to collapse or partially collapse under its own weight In Beirut's neighborhood of AL Dahyia, a vast area of densely populated high-rise buildings, which were home to tens of thousands of people was reduced to rubble by repeated air strikes.

- According to the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL), on August 15, eighty percent of the civilian houses had been destroyed in the village of Tayyabah, fifty percent in the villages of Markaba and Qantarah, thirty percent in Mais al-Jebel, twenty percent in Houla, and fifteen percent in Talusha.

- On August 16, UNIFIL reported that in the village of Ghanduriyah eighty percent of the civilian houses had been destroyed, sixty percent in the village of Zibqin, fifty percent in Jabal al-Butm and Bayyadah, thirty percent in Bayt Leif, and twenty-five percent in Kafra.
- In the town of Bint Jbeil, in the far south of the country, the center of the city, where there had been a market and busy commercial streets leading from it, was devastated. Every building on the streets was destroyed, extensively damaged or beyond repair. The streets were strewn with the rubble and in

that rubble was clear evidence of the cause of the damage, unexploded munitions, shrapnel and craters. The Israeli army used a substantial variety of munitions from its arsenal, with air-delivered munitions, artillery shelling and extensive cluster bomb damage in evidence.

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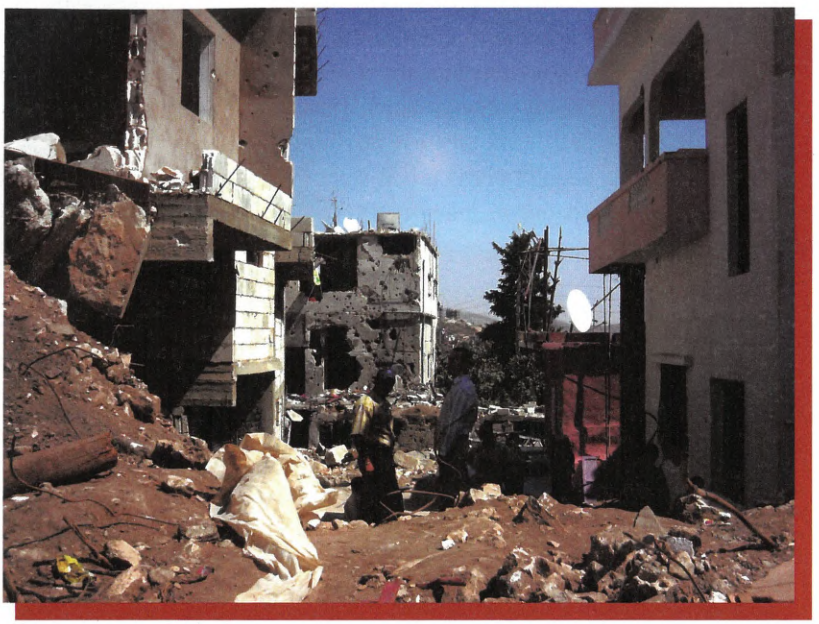


- In nearby Ainata, the scene was no different: extensive destruction of civilian houses. The bodies of some of those who had been killed when their homes where destroyed in the second and third week of July, remained under the rubble until after the ceasefire came into effect. Some were not recovered by mid-September.
- Amnesty International spoke with Yousef Wehbe, an entrepreneur who lived for years in Latin America, about the destruction of his family's house on July 21: Twenty-three neighbors were sheltering in my father's house, as it was a more solid house than others in the area. I had spoken to my father on the phone earlier that day and he had said: 'I am 85 and have lived through all the wars but none were ever like this one; I don't know where all these bombs come from; it is like hell. A few hours later, the house was shelled by the Israeli army and he was killed and my sister's husband was injured; luckily he survived. But a neighbor who went over to the corner of the room where my father was struck was also hit and killed.

WATER FACILITIES

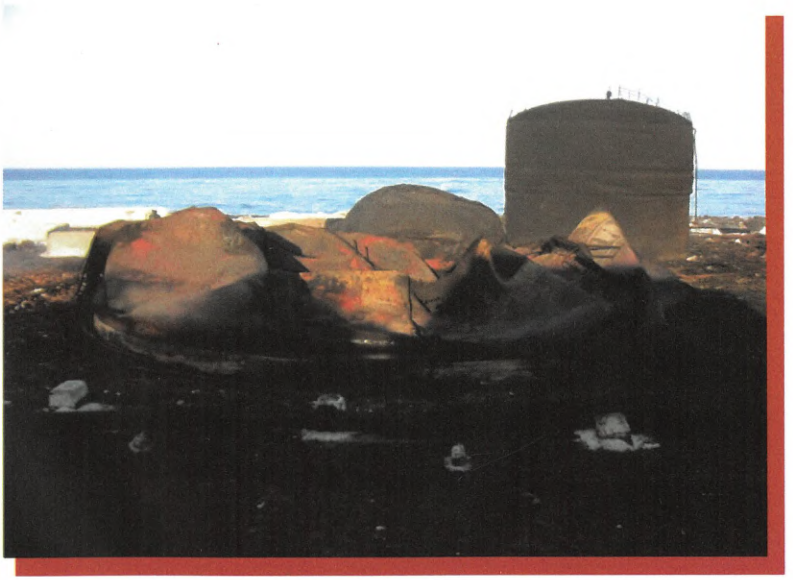
- Wells, water mains, storage tanks, pumping stations, and water treatment works have been destroyed throughout south Lebanon. The water service in the entire country has also been disrupted, as water pipes running beneath roads have been extensively damaged when the roads above have been bombed. The cost of the damage to water facilities was estimated by the Lebanese government to be more than US $100 million as of mid-September 2006.
- The damaged and destroyed water facilities include four wells at Fakr al-Din, as well as the pipes between the Fakr al-Din station and Wadi al-Rashid. Storage tanks in Sidon district, Bint Jbeil, and al-Wazani were damaged or destroyed. Two pumping stations were destroyed in the Ba'albak al-Asseera region, as well as the water line between Sebaat and al-Dulbi. In the al-Litani area, the al-Qasimiyya channel, Channel 900 and the line from Joun to al-Awwali were hit.
- Such extensive damage to water facilities carries a grave risk of disease. Daniel Toole of the United Nations Children's Fund, noted that the lack

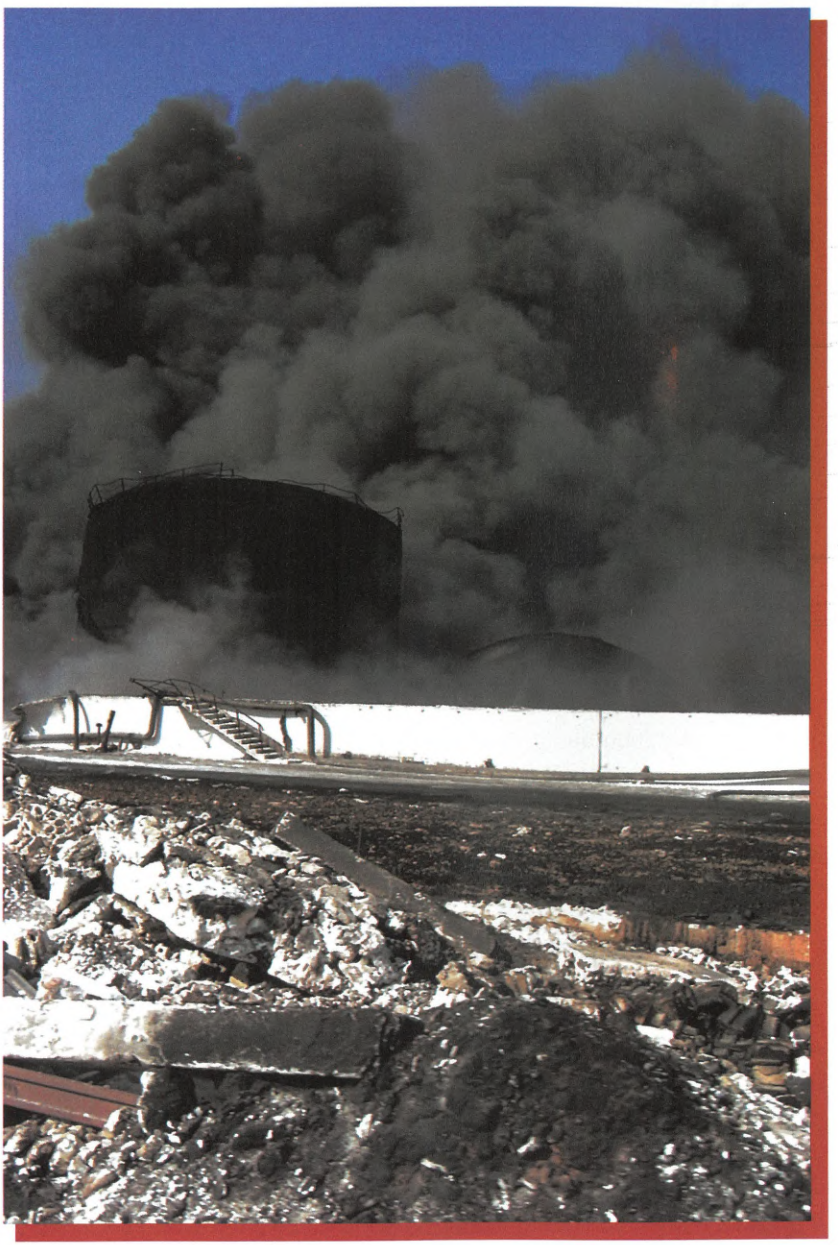
of clean water was becoming life-threatening in south Lebanon during the fighting, where Israel's bombardment of roads and bridges has also cut off outside water supplies. Sanitation is a big issue, he said. Without proper sanitation children will get diarrhea, they will get sick and they will die.

- The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) also noted that lack of access to villages in the south meant remaining inhabitants had been largely without clean water. Some who had fled the border village of Rmeish told ICRC delegates that local people were drinking foul water from an irrigation ditch.
- While water pipes might qualify as collateral damage, it appears that storage tanks, pumping stations, and water treatment plants have been directly targeted by Israeli forces, and it is difficult to understand how they could have been regarded as military objectives.

ELECTRICITY AND FUEL SUPPLY

The photos below show the Jiyyeh power plant and fuel storage facility.



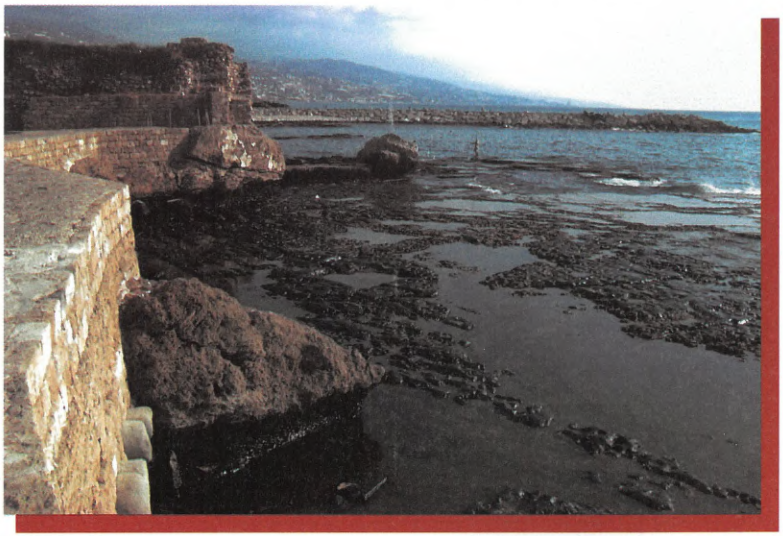


- Electrical facilities, power plants, and fuel stations have suffered extensive damage. At least twenty-two fuel depots have been completely destroyed in bombing raids and thirty-two gasoline stations have been destroyed or severely damaged.
- The south of Lebanon was completely without power by the time the ceasefire was announced. Electrical lines and cables across the country have been cut, and the destruction of the roads and bridges, as well as access restrictions imposed by the Israeli military, prevented repair and assessment crews from working.
- Electrical supply in Beirut remains intermittent and averaged about twelve hours a day at the close of the conflict. Israeli air strikes on the weekend of August 12 and 13, immediately before the ceasefire came into effect, left the cities of Sidon and Tyre without electricity.
- The cost of the damage to the electricity sector is estimated at about $ 230 million.

ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE

- The attack on Lebanon's largest power station at Jiyyeh had both an immediate adverse impact on the population, and long-term implications for the environment and the economy. Israeli forces bombed the Jiyyeh power station, about 25km south of Beirut, and its fuel tanks on July 13 and again on July 15. The resulting fire, which burned for three weeks, coated the surrounding areas with a fine white dust of pulverized concrete and filled the air with black soot. In addition, that attack caused nearly 30,000 tons of heavy fuel oil to leak into the sea. The oil slick has contaminated more than 150km of the Lebanese coastline and has spread north into Syrian waters. The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) has characterized it as one of the worst environmental disasters seen in the region. The cost of a comprehensive clean-up was estimated to be US $200 million, with work taking up to a year.

The photos below show some of the results of the Israeli bombing of oil storage facilities at Jiyyeh on July 13 and then again on July 15, 2006. 407



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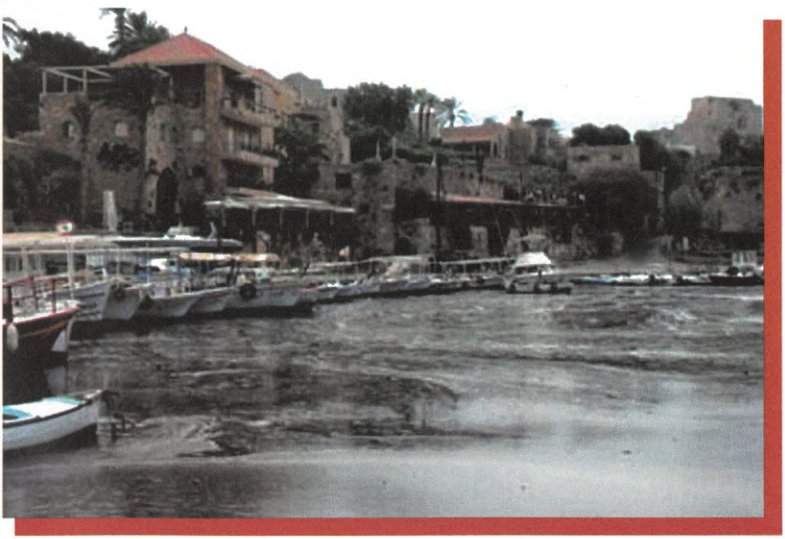

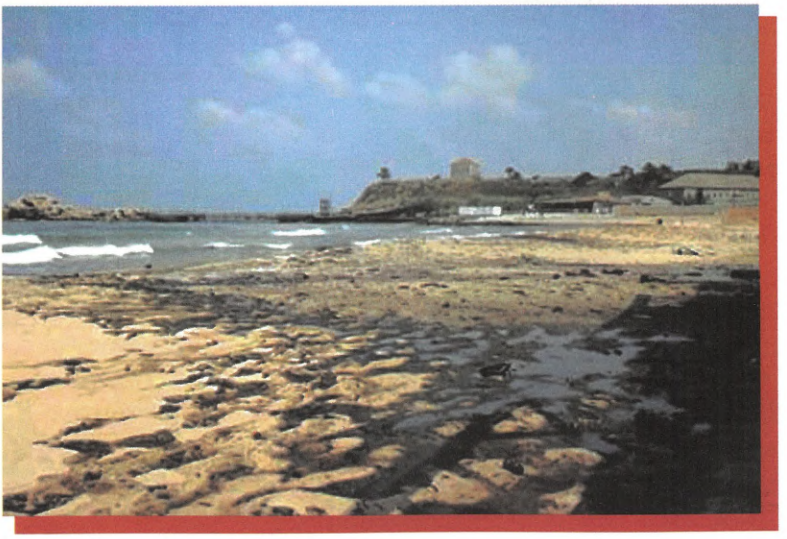

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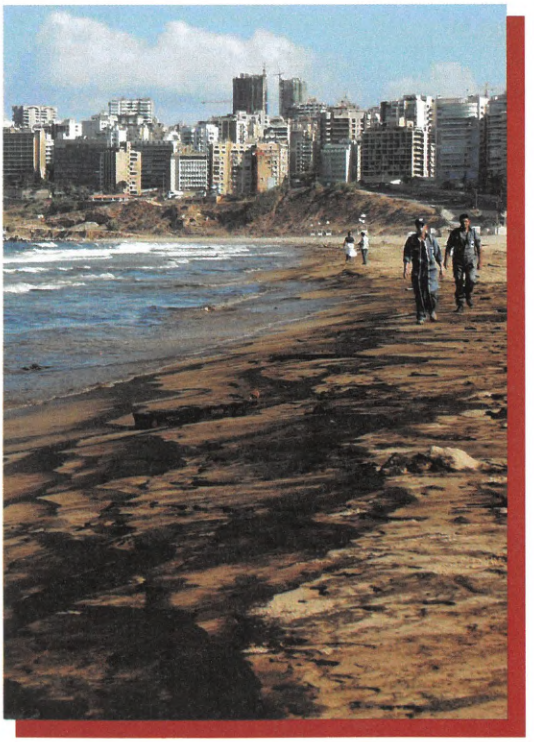
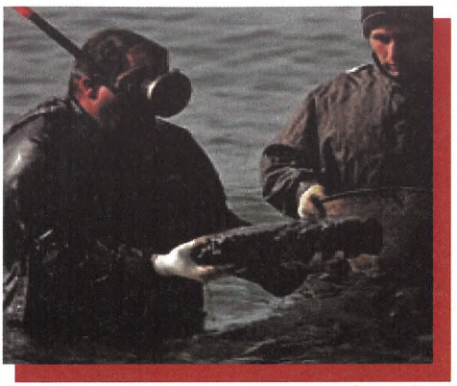
- According to Stavros Dimas, the European commissioner in charge of efforts to contain the damage, the recent oil spill off the coast of Lebanon is an environmental disaster, and may affect the livelihood, health, and future prospect of Lebanon and the surrounding countries.
- According to the Lebanese environmental NGO Greenline: The fuel tanks released a cloud of polyaromatic hydrocarbons, dioxins and particulate matter, and all of these could cause cancer, respiratory problems and hormonal problems.
- Achim Steiner, Under Secretary General of the United Nations and Executive Director of UNEP said: It is ... a sad fact that the environment-so vividly underlined by the oil slick and the blackened, damaged coastline-is also a victim with all the repercussions for livelihoods, human health, economic development, ecosystems, fisheries, tourism and rare and endangered wildlife.





In the spring of 2007, early nine months after more that 15,000 thousands of tons of fuel oil spilled into the Mediterranean when Israel bombed the Lebanese power plant at Jiyyeh 13 and 15, 2006, the waters are still spitting out black poison despite efforts to clean up the mess. Many beaches like Jiyyeh and Ramlet al-Baida continue to fight the pollution. «The rain and the low tide have created new pollution zones,» said Ahmad Kojok of the Bahr Lubnan association. Greenpeace has described the spill, which polluted about 150 kilometers of the Lebanese coast, as an «underwater nightmare» and a «timebomb» because oil had sunk to the seabed. The environmental group has estimated it will take at least a year to clean

- The damage to two of the emerging sectors of the Lebanese economy—tourism, which was projected before the conflict to generate twelve percent of the nation's gross domestic product this year, and commercial fishing—has been estimated at more than $one billion.
- The bombing of electricity transformers such as the one that was hit in Sidon on August 12 released polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) into the atmosphere. Lebanon still uses transformers that contain parts that were made with PCBs, despite an international ban on the substance. Greenpeace has warned that PCBs are chemicals that are bio-accumulative and persistent so when you inhale them they stay in your body, and they cause cancer.
- The bombing of factories that made products such as glass, foodstuffs, and plastics also released these chemicals and chlorine into the atmosphere in central areas of Lebanon, potentially affecting up to two million people.
- Under international humanitarian law, care must be taken to protect the environment against widespread, long-term, and severe damage. Methods or means of warfare which are intended or may be expected to cause such damage are forbidden.

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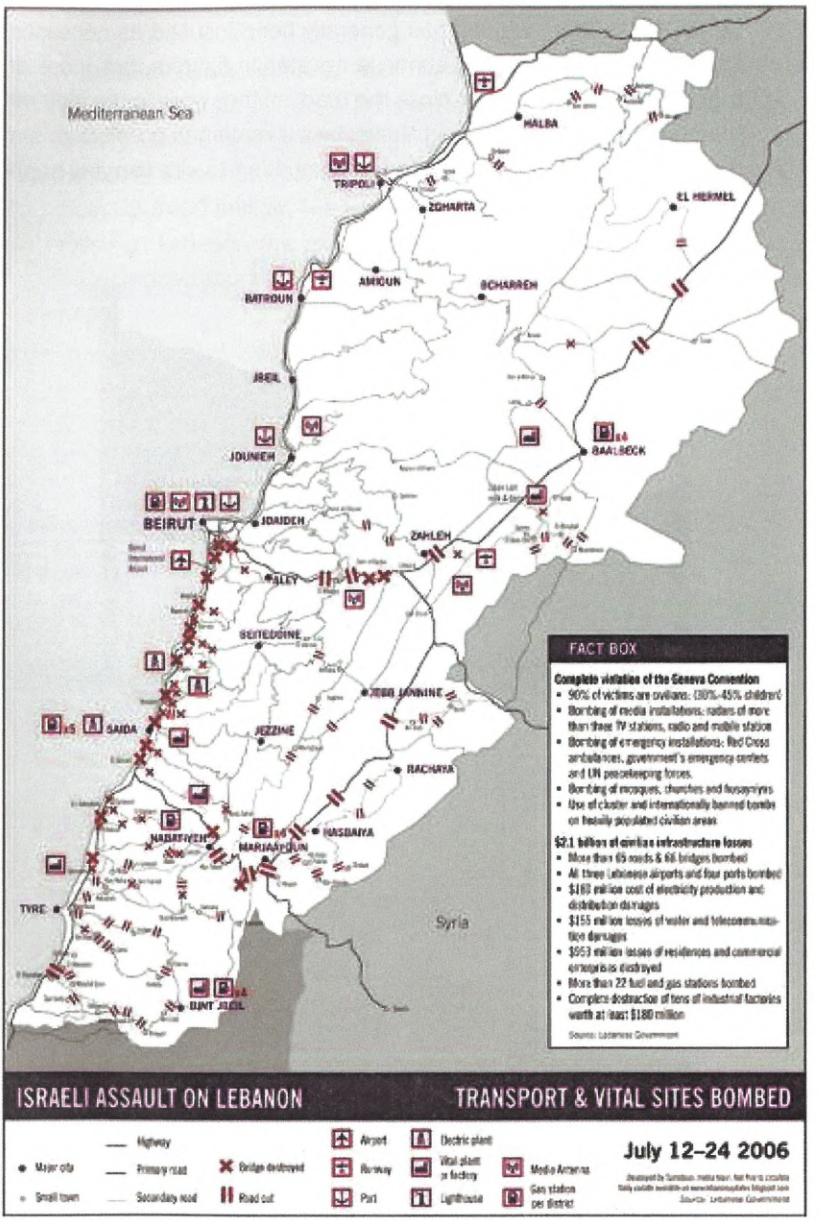
ROADS AND BRIDGES

▪ Despite being primarily used by civilians, roads and bridges were declared a target by the Israeli military on July 14, 2006. The extensive damage to the land transportation network during the first three weeks of bombing alone has been estimated by the Lebanese government at more than US $400 million. The Israeli government stated on July 14 that: The roads in Lebanon are used to transport terrorists and weapons to the terror organizations operating from Lebanese territory against civilians in Israel.

▪ The Lebanese government's list of bridges damaged is 134 and repeated Israeli shelling put nearly 110 roads largely out of commission, with more than 200,000 square meters of road completely destroyed.

▪ Many of the roads were hit by precision-guided American supplied

munitions, whose warheads created craters 12 to 15 feet deep and about 20 feet wide. This catering has generally been justified as necessary to impede the movement of Lebanese resistance fighters, but more often than not the craters did not close the road, as they were to the side rather than in the middle of the road. Travel by car remained possible by simply driving around the craters, although it impeded trucks carrying supplies and humanitarian aid.


Mediterranean Sea
HALBA
TRIPOLI
ZGHARTA
EL HERMEL
BATROUN
AMIOUN
BCHARREH
JBEIL
JOUNIEH
BAALBECK
BEIRUT
JDAIDEH
ZAHLEH
ALEY
BEITEDDINE
JEZZINE
JEBB JANINE
SAIDA
RACHAYA
NABATIYEH
MARJAAYOUN
HASBAIYA
TYRE
BINT JBEIL
Syria
FACT BOX
Complete violation of the Geneva Convention
• 90% of victims are civilians: (30%-45% children)
• Bombing of media installations: radars of more than three TV stations, radio and mobile station
• Bombing of emergency installations: Red Cross ambulances, government's emergency centers and UN peacekeeping forces.
• Bombing of mosques, churches and Hussayniyas
• Use of cluster and internationally banned bombs on heavily populated civilian areas
$2.1 billion of civilian infrastructure losses
• More than 65 roads & 80 bridges bombed
• All three Lebanese airports and four ports bombed
• $160 million cost of electricity production and distribution damages
• $155 million losses of water and telecommunication damages
• $953 million losses of residences and commercial enterprises destroyed
• More than 22 fuel and gas stations bombed
• Complete destruction of tens of industrial factories worth at least $180 million
Source: Lebanese Government
ISRAELI ASSAULT ON LEBANON
TRANSPORT & VITAL SITES BOMBED
Major city
Small town
Highway
Primary road
Secondary road
Bridge destroyed
Road cut
Airport
Runway
Port
Electric plant
Vital plant or factory
Lighthouse
Media Antenna
Gas station per district
July 12–24 2006

- The damage to roads and bridges interrupted the food supply chain in Lebanon, providing the recipe for a major food crisis, according to the United Nations. When the Israeli air force severed Lebanon's last significant road link to Syria on August 4, it stopped a convoy carrying 150 tons of relief and cut what the UN called its umbilical cord for aid supplies.
- Some bridges were repaired, only to be bombed again. On August 7 the United Nations reported that Israeli forces had again bombed a temporary bridge over the Litani River, cutting off road access between Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut. The original bridge had already been destroyed by Israeli strikes. As a result, Tyre, Lebanon's fourth largest city with a population of more than 100,000 and sheltering additional tens of thousands more displaced people, was cut off from relief supplies.
- On August 6, officials of UNIFIL again attempted to secure a go-ahead from the Israeli authorities to build a new temporary bridge over the Litani River to facilitate the transport of vital humanitarian supplies to the beleaguered residents of the south. Israel denied permission, warning that any new bridge would also be blown up. According to UN officials, the Israeli military said that UNIFIL engineers would themselves become a target if they attempted any repairs to the bridge.
- The Israeli military also warned that any movement south of the Litani River would be prohibited, with the exception of UNIFIL and Red Cross vehicles, and that any other moving object would be attacked. A Médecins sans Frontières (MSF) convoy transporting emergency medical supplies and fuel was stuck north of the Litani on August 7, and had to pass four tons of supplies via a human chain over a distance of 500 meters. A tree trunk was used as a makeshift bridge.
- Because the crossing is out, we had to transfer by hand, which left us very exposed, said Christopher Stokes, MSF Coordinator in Lebanon. Although we had not received any security guarantees, the decision was taken to go ahead because the convoy contained very urgently needed medical and surgical supplies, especially if fighting near Sour [Tyre] keeps increasing. And our convoy traveling from Sour had a close escape when two explosions occurred just 100 meters away from them. [Surveillance] drones and jets could be heard all along the trip.

- It is a finding of fact that under international humanitarian law, the parties to a conflict must allow and facilitate rapid and unimpeded passage of all relief consignments, equipment, and personnel; protect relief consignments; and facilitate their rapid distribution. In addition, the personnel participating in humanitarian relief actions, as well as the objects used for humanitarian relief operations, must be respected and protected.
- It is a finding of fact that under American law, specifically the 1996 Humanitarian Interference Act, any country which receives U.S. weapons and uses them to impede humanitarian access to civilians must have all military and economic aid terminated immediately.

ISRAEL BOMBED MORE THAN 134 BRIDGES AND OVERPASSES WITH AMERICAN WEAPONS

The following 134 Bridges in Lebanon were bombed by Israel using American weapons between July 12 and August 14, 2006. Among the weapons used were TOW missiles, 155mm artillery shells, MK-82, (500-lb) MK-83 (1000-lb) and MK-84 guided bombs BSU-37/B (Assy) 96214-100922-611, 2000 lb. These three bombs were used in more than sixty-four other locations in Lebanon. In the south of Lebanon, Israel attacked bridges, overpasses, and culverts with M-26, M-42, and CBU 58-B clusters bombs using BLU 63 antipersonnel munitions.

NAME	CAZA NAME
Aabdelli	Zahle
Aandqit	Akkar
Aarida (bqayaa bridge)	Akkar
Aarjess	Zgharta
Aatiq	Saida
Aawik Halba	Akkar
Abou Zeble	Hasbaiya
AD Dajaj	Jbail
AD Dalam	Baabda
Ad Damur Highway bridge 2 over Beirut-Tyre Highway	Chouf
Airport RunWay over coastal road	Aley
Akroum retaining wall	Akkar
AL Ushshaq	Kesrouane
Al Atiqah Highway bridge West over Beirut -Tyre Highway	Chouf
Al Awwali _ Saida Highway br ne ov Nahr Al Awwali	Saida
Al Faydah	Zahle

NAME	CAZA NAME
Al Kabir	Kesrouane
Al Khidr highway bridge over highway	Saida
Al Khudayrah	Kesrouane
Al Labbish	El Metn
Al Mafraq	Baalbek
Al Mari Highway bridge SW over Nahr Al Hasbani	Marjayoun
Al Masna Customs Crossing	Zahle
Alman underpass	Chouf
An Nahriyah	Baalbek
Aar Ruyan	Baalbek
Arqa Bridge	Akkar
Baabda	Baabda
Bahout	Baabda
Basha	El Metn
Bednayel Bridge	Baalbek
Bridge	Hasbaiya
Bridge	Hasbaiya
Btallun	Aley
Casino	Kesrouane
Chaalane	Aley
Costa Brava/Ouzai	Baabda
Dammour Interchange - N1	Chouf
Dammour Interchange - S1	Chouf
Dammour Interchange--Oceana	Chouf
Dammour-Beit Eddine Interchange	Chouf
Damour Bridge	Chouf
Debbiyyeh Overpass	Chouf
Al Bilad	Baabda
Ar Rohbane	Baabda
Es Sarafan hwy br ov Nahr Khaizarane	Saida

NAME	CAZA NAME
Fidar	Jbail
Ghaziyyeh overpass	Saida
Habbouch--Aarabsalim	Nabatiye
Habbouch Bridge	Nabatiye
Habbouch Interchange	Nabatiye
Hajje	Saida
Hajje Maamariye	Saida
Haqlet es Saouda	Baalbek
haret sakher	Kesrouane
Hissa	Akkar
Hissa Ballaneh	Akkar
Hizzine et Tahta	Baalbek
HoushArrafka - HoushMisraya Culvert	Baalbek
Jadra Interchange	Chouf
Jibchit	Nabatiye
Jiyyeh Interchange	Chouf
Jounaya to Tyre	Tyre
Junction Route 3 to Junction Route 39 Route 309	Tyre
Kbayet Akkar bridge	Akkar
kfar Harra Bridge (swaysseh)	Akkar
kfar Zabad Zahle Bridge	Zahle
Khardali--Kafr Tibnit Highway Bridge	Marjayoun
Kouwaikhat	Akkar
Madfoun	Batroun
Mafraq Deir Antar Bridge	Tyre
Maqsaba Interchange	Chouf
Masnaa Road Litani Bridge	Zahle
Mazraat Balde	Akkar
Mdairej	Baabda
Naaameh Bridge BEIRUT HIGHWAY 3 BRIDGE SOUTHWEST OVER HIGHWAY 1	Chouf

NAME	CAZA NAME
Naaameh Interchange - Hara	Chouf
Naaameh Interchange - N3	Chouf
Naaameh Interchange - N4	Chouf
Namliyeh/Dahr ElBaydar	Baabda
Naqourah to Tyre	Tyre
Offramp	Tyre
Old Dammour Bridge	Chouf
Qaa Culvert (Gov. Hospital)	Baalbek
Qaaqaiye	Nabatiye
Qalaat Issa	Baabda
Qasimye Bridge (East)	Tyre
Qasmiye Main Bridge (West)	Saida
RassBaalbak Bridge - Essahel	Baalbek
Regie Overpass	Saida
Rmaily–DeirRmaily Interchange	Chouf
Rmaily–Wordanieh Interchange	Chouf
Saaydeh–Majdaloun	Baalbek
Saida Eastern Boulvard Overpass	Saida
Saksakieh	Saida
Salhab	Zahle
Sarafand	Saida
SAYDA HWY BR NE OV RD	Chouf
Sinniq	Saida
Taanayel Taalbaya Bridge	Zahle
Taanayel Taalbaya Bridge	Zahle
Tahoun Qouzhaiya	Zgharta
Tahrir	Marjayoun
Tair Falsay–Six February Bridge over Nahr Al Litani	Saida
Vidu	Zahle
Wadi elakhdar/Arbsalim/Kfar Remman	Nabatiye
Wadi Zayni- Chhime Overpass	Chouf

NAME	CAZA NAME
Zaarourieh--Allek	Baalbek
Zahrani Interchange	Saida
Zahrani Old Bridge--Tall Al Buraqi Highway	Saida
Zahrani Overpass--Main Highway	Saida
Zifta Road bridge over the Beirut to Tyre Highway	Saida

AIRPORTS

All of Lebanon's airports have been attacked, some repeatedly, including Beirut's international airport. The Beirut airport was one of the first targets to be struck; a first aerial attack turned the airport's fuel tanks into fireballs, while a second wave left craters in the three main runways. While the central facilities, including the control tower, were spared, the airport was rendered inoperative.

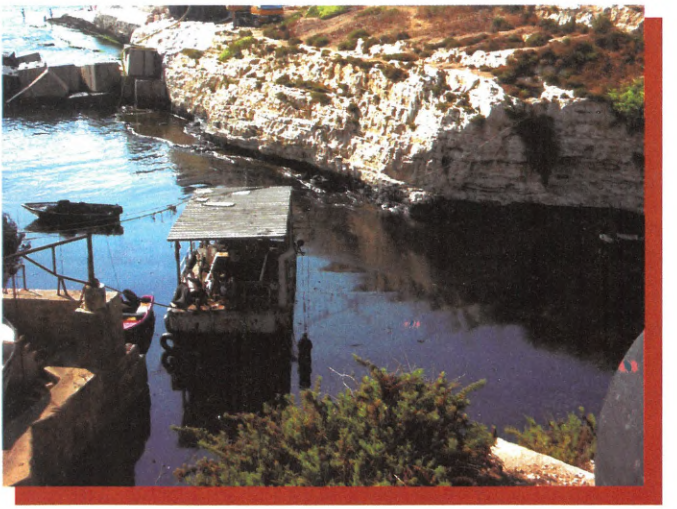
- On July 15, according to CNN: In an unusual deal that the United States helped broker, a runway at the Beirut airport was repaired long enough to enable six planes—one carrying former Lebanese Prime Minister Najib Miqati—to take off. Israeli forces soon after bombed the runway again.
- An IDF statement issued on July 14 noted that the airport and its fuel tanks had been targeted because it is used as a central hub for the

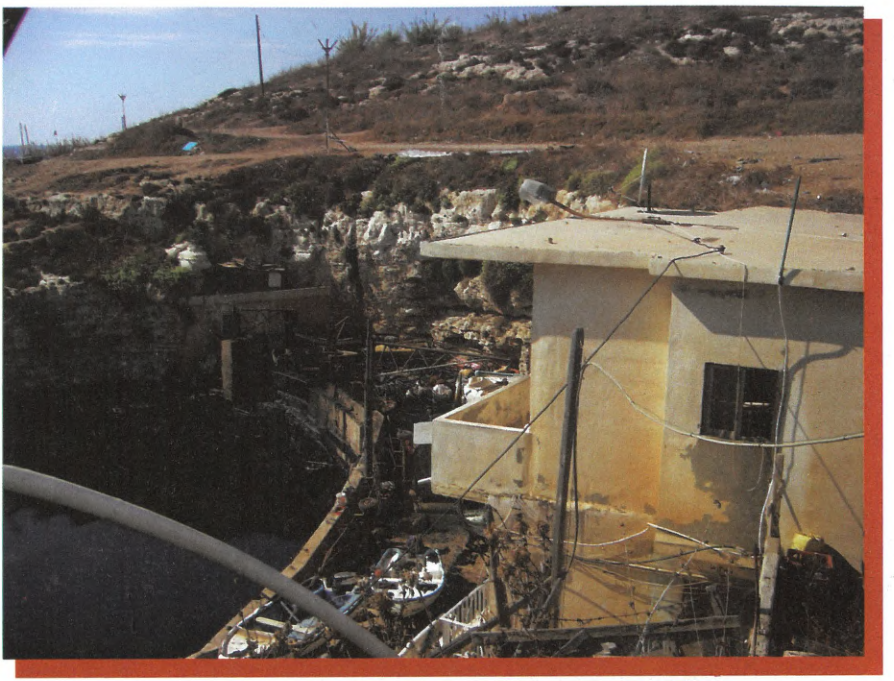
transfer of weapons and supplies to Hezbollah. However, the statement suggested that the attacks were also intended as part of the policy of making the Lebanese government pay a high price for allowing the Lebanese resistance led by Hezbollah.

PORTS

- Israeli forces attacked seaports along the coast, including three of the country's main ones – in Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon. A missile from an Israeli combat helicopter put out of use Beirut's modern lighthouse on July 15, and an antenna vital for maritime operations was hit in Tripoli on July 18. The old lighthouse was also hit. It is difficult to see what legitimate purpose these attacks could have had, given that the Israeli navy was blockading the port.
- On July 17, the Israeli Air Force launched a predawn attack on the port of Beirut, striking a fuel tank, which exploded, killing two workers. The Port of Beirut, which had been badly damaged in previous conflicts, had recently undergone an extensive reconstruction program.

The photos below show the the bombed Port of Beirut.



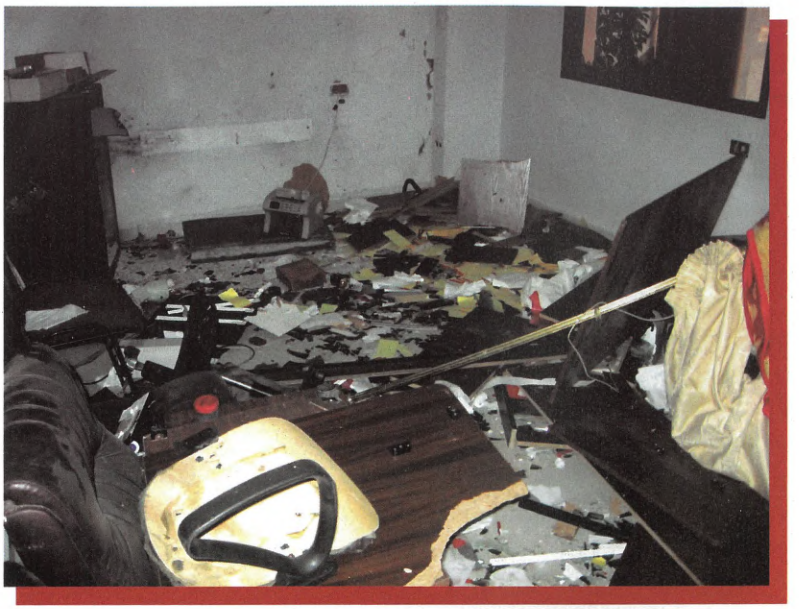


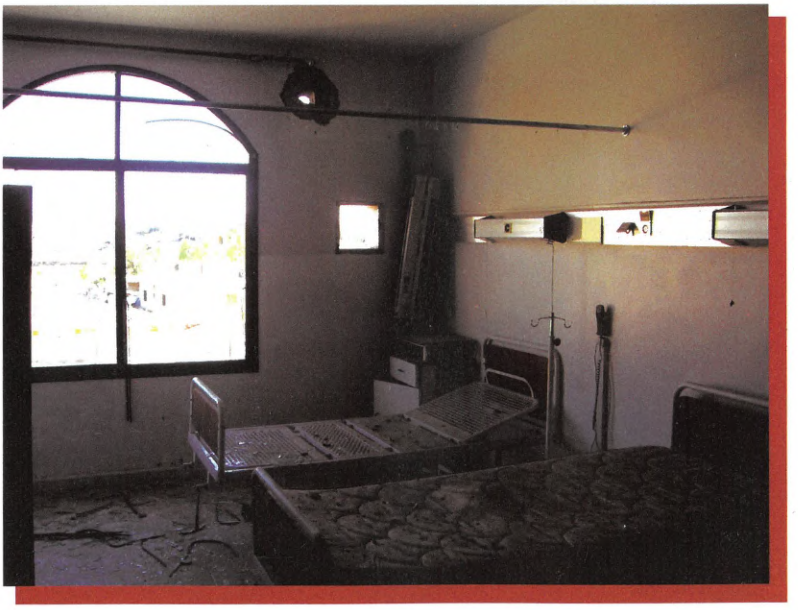
- On the same day, the Israeli Air Force also struck at the seaport in Tripoli, Lebanon's second largest city, in the north of the country.

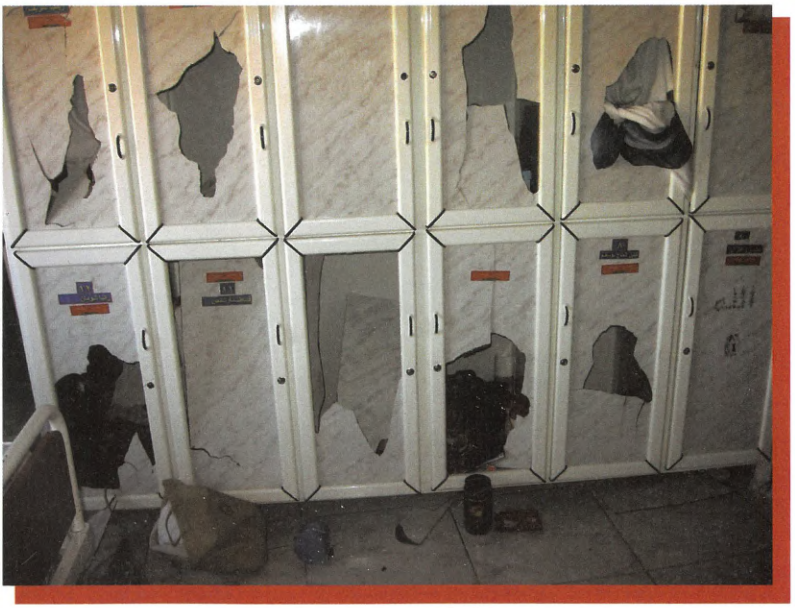
BOMBARDMENT OF HOSPITALS

The photos below show the results of Israeli attacks with American weapons on eight hospitals including a—Hikmah hospital in Ba'albek, Meis al-Jeben in Bint Jbeil, and the government hospital at Tebnine in south Lebanon.

For some reason Israeli troops often trashed hosptials as they did homes they occupied. The above photo shows evidence of hospital records that were burned on August 7, 2006.







- Hospitals in many parts of the country have sustained shelling damage, particularly in the south, but the main threat to their continued operation came from fuel shortages, road destruction, and the ongoing blockade. Two government hospitals-in Bint Jbeil and in Meis al-Jebel-were completely destroyed in Israeli attacks and three others were seriously damaged.
- The Lebanese Ministry of Public Health estimated that around sixty percent of the country's hospitals had ceased to function as of August 12 due to fuel shortages. Eight hospitals, including three in the southern suburbs of Beirut, were forced to close because bombs were falling around them daily.
- One hospital, alleged by Israel to be a Hezbollah headquarters, was directly attacked. On August 2, Israeli commandos in helicopters, supported by fighter planes and drones, raided al-Hikmah hospital in Baalbek in the Bekaa valley. The Israeli army said they captured five Hezbollah members there. However, according to local residents, the five were not captured at the hospital but in one of their homes. They added that one of those seized, local merchant Hassan Nasrallah, had been confused with the Hezbollah secretary general who has the same name. Reuters reported that the supporting air strikes killed 19 people, including four children.
- In the village of ***Tebnine***, in southern Lebanon, only hours before the ceasefire came into effect on August 14, Israeli forces fired cluster bombs all around the government hospital, damaging its outer walls. Residents of nearby villages, including elderly and disabled people who had not been able to reach the next main town of ***Tyre***, had sought shelter there. The Israeli army had been shelling the hospital's surroundings since the end of July and those staying there were afraid to leave.
- Hospitals are by nature civilian objects and may not be attacked unless they are being used for military purposes. If Hezbollah was indeed using the al-Hikmah hospital as a headquarters or base, then they rendered it subject to attack, although Israel would still have been under an obligation to take precautions to protect civilians and avoid the loss of life or injury to civilians.

Physical damage inflicted on health facilities with American Weapons
Source: WHO, MOPH. Lebanon Crisis: Service Availability Assessment, August 29, 2006.

HOSPITALS

	Beirut Suburbs (8)		Bent (3)	Jbeil	Hasbaya (1)		Marjayoun (2)		Nabatieh (5)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Severe damage	(s)	25	1	33	0	0	0	0	1	20
Minor damage	(s)	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	(s)	40
No damage	4	50	(s)	67	1	100	(s)	100	(s)	40
	Beirut	**(28)**	**Saida (14)**		**Sour (6)**		**Hermel (4)**		**Baalbeck (11)**	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Severe damage	0	0	1	7	(s)	33	0	0	1	9
Minor damage	0	0	0	0	1	17	0	0	0	0
No damage	28	100	13	93	3	50	4	100	10	91

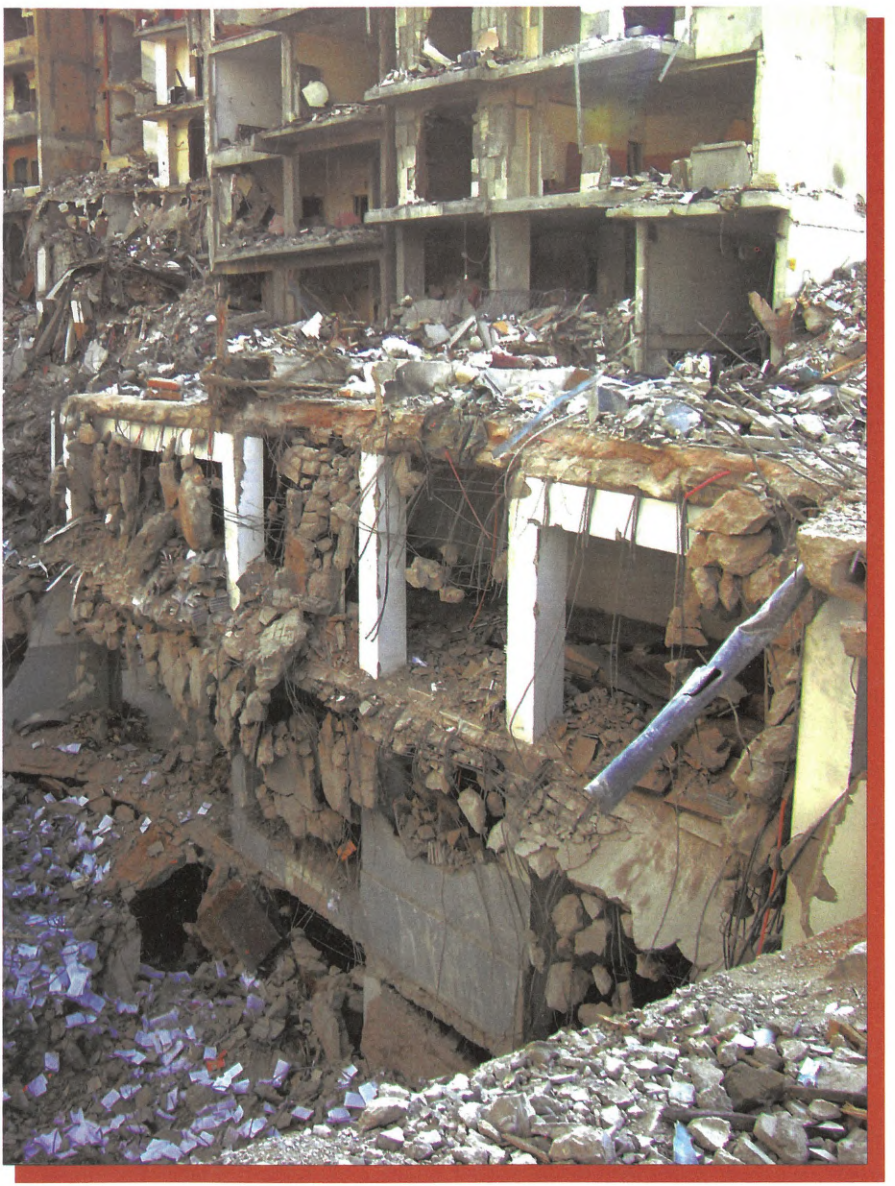
OUTPATIENTS FACILITIES

	Beirut Suburbs (42)		Bent (30)		Jbeil		Hasbaya (19)		Marjayoun (26)		Nabatieh (48)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Totally destroyed	3	7	8	27	0	0	1	4	0	0		
Severe damage	4	9	10	33	1	5	7	27	5	10		
Minor damage	3	7	1	3	0	0	≤1	8	3	6		
Equipment damage	≤1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
No damage	30	73	11	37	18	95	16	61	40	84		
	Beirut (50)		Jezzin (17)		Sour (53)		Hermel (4)		Baalbeck (39)			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%		
Totally destroyed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Severe damage	1	≤1	0	0	1	≤1	0	0	1	3		
Minor damage	0	0	0	0	14	26	0	0	0	0		
Equipment damage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
No damage	49	98	17	100	38	72	4	100	38	97		

COMMUNICATIONS

- Israeli air raids on July 22 hit several transmission stations used by Lebanese television and radio stations. These included Future TV, New TV, and the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBCI), none of which had any links with Hezbollah, to the Hezbollah-backed al-Manar TV. They were also used by mobile phone networks. One LBCI official, Suleyman Shidiac, chief engineer at the relay station at **Fatqa** in the Kesrwan mountains north-east of Beirut, was killed and two others were injured.

430



- Israeli forces repeatedly targeted Hezbollah's al-Manar television station. The transmitters and relay stations of several other Lebanese television stations have also been attacked. Israeli officials have stated that al-Manar was being used for military communications, but failed to provide any evidence to support their claim.
- The fact that al-Manar television broadcasts propaganda in support of Hezbollah's attacks against Israel does not render it a legitimate military objective. Only if the television station were being used to transmit orders to Hezbollah fighters or for other clearly military purposes could it be considered to be making an effective contribution to military action. Even then, Israel would need to take required precautions in attacking it and, in doing so, avoid harming civilians.
- Dozens of mobile telephone masts have been struck, disabling many mobile telephone networks. Ordinary telephone lines and exchanges have suffered extensive damage, estimated at US $99 million

ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

- Privately owned enterprises across Lebanon, the military advantage of whose destruction seems unlikely if nonexistent, have also been subjected to a series of debilitating air strikes, further weakening the economy.
- The Lebanese government estimated that unemployment in the country reached about 75 percent during Israel's bombardment and, owing to damaged infrastructure, remains near 50 percent as of January 2007.
- The production facilities of companies in key industrial sectors, including **Liban Lait** in Baalbak, the country's largest dairy farm; the **Maliban glass works** in Ta'neil, Zahle; the **Sada al-Din plastics factory** in Tyre; the **Fine tissue paper mill** in Kafr Jara, Sidon; the **Tabara pharmaceutical** plant in Showeifat, Aaliyah; the **Transmed shipping** warehouse on the outskirts of Beirut; and the **Snow lumbermill** in Showeifat, Aaliyah, have been disabled or completely destroyed.

Chicken farm in soutn Lebanon

▪ Lebanon's recently-assassinated Industry Minister, Pierre Gemayel, stated that nearly two-thirds of the industrial sector had been damaged, and at least twenty-three large factories and dozens of small and medium-sized factories had been bombed.

Greenhouses in the Bekaa

▪ Waji al-Bisri, acting head of the Association of Lebanese Industrialists, estimates that US $200 million in direct damage has been inflicted on the industrial sector, with dairy, cement, glass and prefab housing factories hit hardest. Many shops and small businesses close to the Israeli border have reportedly received direct hits from artillery and air strikes and were destroyed.

▪ Maliban, the second largest glassworks in the Middle East and one of the largest factories in Lebanon, with production reaching some 200 tons a day for sale around the region was one of five Bekaa factories destroyed. A journalist who visited the ruined factory floor said: It's impossible to discern what this space was used for. All that's visible is churned-up soil with twisted metal, powdered glass and wrecked machinery. It is possible to discern the cause of the disruption, though: four distinct craters have been gouged out of the factory floor. One of the plant managers said: The planes came around 12:45 so most people were at lunch, fortunately. Two people were killed, both Indians, and two injured. If they had come an hour earlier or later it would have been a massacre they even destroyed the workers' residence.

▪ The Liban Lait dairy farm and plant in the Bekaa valley, the leading producer of milk and dairy products in Lebanon, was completely destroyed

in an aerial attack on July 17. According to a local dairy farmer, the dairy factory was hit at 3 a.m. by a barrage of missiles, and the plant was completely destroyed. The dairy, whose products were distributed all over the country, employed about 400 local staff. At least 1,500 Bekaa residents have reportedly lost their source of livelihood.

- According to the Catholic charity Caritas in Lebanon: The Israeli Army is making the situation even worse for Lebanese civilians by targeting warehouses and factories. In fact, food storage houses in particular have become the target.
- Amnesty International's delegates noted numerous attacks on commercial outlets such as supermarkets and automotive repair outlets. They found that supermarkets were targeted almost certainly with the same type of munitions as aimed at houses, but seemingly delivered via a higher trajectory in order to inflict most damage to their interiors and to the products stored in them. In some cases, supermarkets were set on fire. There were similar attacks on automotive repair outlets, leading to fires. There was no evidence that such fires were caused by stored munitions.
- According to Amnesty International, in places it visited, shrapnel, casings, and assorted debris indicated a common pattern of destruction. The destruction of supermarkets, often the single initial attack on a town or village, seems to have been intended to hasten the departure of the residents. The reasons behind the destruction of auto/electro/mechanic outlets remain the subject of speculation.
- In the village of Hanaway, where the pattern of damage was similar to other villages, major commercial outlets were destroyed, including supermarkets and also car and automotive repair workshops. Streets were cratered, the craters being of a size probably caused by air strikes rather than artillery. Other craters along streets indicated heavy artillery.

AGRICULTURE

Lebanese agricultural production has likewise been badly hit, partly because the produce cannot be transported by road, and partly due to the danger of bombing and shelling for those working in the fields. On August 4, for example,

missiles from Israeli aircraft hit a fruit-packing warehouse near the Syrian border, killing at least 23, mainly Kurdish, farm workers. Citrus crops on the coastal plains of southern Lebanon have been left to rot, while poultry farms have been unable to obtain chicken feed due to the blockade, and as much as 80 percent of the stock has died.

A Study by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization

Damage and losses to agriculture, fisheries and forestry in Lebanon as a result of Israel's bombings are estimated at around $280 million, according to an FAO damage assessment report issued on November 27, 2006.

Israeli bombing affected the agriculture sector directly, with crops, livestock and equipment damaged by the bombing. But much more important, according to the report, was the indirect economic impact in terms of lost markets and labor opportunities.

POOREST HIT HARDEST

The military bombardments were directed mainly at southern Lebanon and the southern suburbs of Beirut, among the country's poorest areas. Overall, agriculture accounts for almost 70 percent of total household income in southern Lebanon.

The biggest economic losses were attributed to the lack of access to fields during the conflict period, the peak time for the harvest of some crops (mainly stone fruit and potatoes) destined for export. According to the report, much of this year's harvest perished on the ground, as bombing forced farmers to abandon their lands, and transport to market became impossible. Moreover, many agricultural fields and pastures have been rendered useless until unexploded bombs can be removed. This is particularly important in southern. Lebanon where an estimated twenty-five percent of the cultivated land is inaccessible due to unexploded ordnances.

Total financial losses due to physical damage and lost harvests of tree and field crops in southern Lebanon amount to approximately $94 million. Overall, the total financial damage to the crop production sector is estimated at more than $232 million, according to FAO.

Some 3,050 head of dairy cattle, 1,250 bulls, 15,000 head of goats and sheep, 18,000 beehives and over 600,000 broilers were lost as a direct consequence of the hostilities. FAO estimates financial losses to the livestock sector of nearly $22 million.

With respect to fisheries, destruction of infrastructure and equipment in the port of Ouzaii, and the loss of 328 boats with their gear, resulted in damage of around $3 million. Targeting of the trout farms at Hermel in the Bekaa Valley caused losses of about 300 ton of fish. The FAO assessment puts the overall financial loss to the fisheries sector at $9.7 million.

For forestry, the estimated damage is roughly $16 million, mainly due to the inability to address forest fires during the conflict.

SPIRAL OF DEBT

With the loss of income from harvests and lost animal produce, many

farmers have become heavily indebted as they usually repay their debts during the May to October harvest period to secure credit for the following production season, said Anne Bauer, Director of FAO's Emergency Operations and Rehabilitation Division. This year, their ability to repay these debts has been reduced to the minimum, making it impossible to start the new cropping cycle due to the lack of working capital.

BLOCKADES

▪ Any vehicle of any kind traveling south of the Litani River will be bombarded, on suspicion of transporting rockets, military equipment and terrorists: Leaflet addressed to the Lebanese people, signed the State of Israel, August 7, 2006.

Israel incapacitated Beirut's airports, bombarded most of the country's bridges and arterial roads, and imposed a naval and air blockade. Access to the south of the country, even for humanitarian agencies, was severely disrupted. With land routes cut, the naval blockade made bringing aid shipments in by sea impossible without military approval, which proved extremely difficult to secure. An ICRC ship full of supplies destined for **Tyre** was red-lighted for several days before being allowed to dock on August 12. Israel claims that the blockade was necessary to cut off weapons and supplies to Hezbollah.

The time for improved access is long overdue, insisted ICRC head Jakob Kellenberger on August 11. Even life-saving, emergency evacuations so desperately needed are, at best, delayed for days. We also face enormous obstacles to bringing in aid convoys loaded with essential foodstuffs, water and medicines for trapped civilians.

During the conflict, around 100,000 civilians were trapped in southern Lebanon, afraid to flee following Israeli threats to target all moving vehicles, and in light of Israeli Justice Minister Haim Ramon's widely reported remark: All those now in south Lebanon are terrorists who are related in some way to Hezbollah.

Like many in New Orleans after Katrina, some in the south of Lebanon were unable to move because of their age or disability or simply because they

438 had no access to transport. Residents were rapidly running out of food, water, and medicines and the ICRC reported that those who had managed to escape the region were arriving at aid stations in increasingly desperate conditions.

By August 13, according to the Associated Press: Aid convoys were stuck in ports or at warehouses because Israel refused to guarantee their safety on the roads. Thousands of people trapped in southern villages were believed to have run out of food and medicine and were drinking unsafe water.

A few days earlier, the UN's Jan Egeland had warned that fuel supplies would run out within days, paralyzing hospitals and shutting down electricity across the country. The fuel situation is the single most worrying humanitarian crisis at the moment, he said. If there's one thing that will be the most critical—even more critical than food—over the next days and weeks, it's fuel. At the time, two tankers with 87,000 tons of fuel oil and diesel were docked outside of Israel's naval blockade off **Lebanon's Mediterranean coast**, but they had refused to bring the supplies in without a written guarantee of safety, which Israel would not give.

Due to the incapacitation of electricity supply stations, hospitals and other health centers were relying on fuel to run generators. Power is essential to run operating rooms, life-saving equipment including incubators for newborns, and refrigeration for vaccines and treatments including insulin. It is also essential for safe water provision and hygiene.

Even north of the Litani river, the provision of much-needed food and medical assistance was difficult to coordinate. Damage to roads and bridges by bombardment meant taking lengthy detours along minor roads or dirt tracks, through which big trucks can only pass with difficulty.

While blockades are not prohibited per se by international humanitarian law, they must not prevent foodstuffs and other essential supplies from reaching the civilian population. The parties to the conflict may not deny consent to relief operations on arbitrary grounds and can only control the content and delivery of humanitarian aid to the extent necessary to ensure that aid convoys are not being used, for example, for military purposes.

It is a finding of fact that certain American laws, including but not limited to the 1976 US Arms Export Act, as amended, the Foreign Assistance Act, and the 1996 Interference with Humanitarian Relief Act impose sanctions on any country receiving economic or military aid when that country uses American weapons against the civilian population of any country.

TESTIMONIES AND EYE WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF ISRAEL USING AMERICAN WEAPONS AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF LEBANON DURING JULY-AUGUST 2006

Day after day, Israeli government spokesman insist that everything they are doing accords with international humanitarian law. Endless communiqués insist that Israel's behavior is proportionate," Let us be blunt: those claims are fantasy, as the carnage in Qana has shown once again.
Human Rights Watch July 31,2006

In the cases and testimonials presented below, based on NGO interviews conducted during the conflict, no apparent military objective existed in the civilian houses that Israel attacked.
Villagers interviewed privately in one-on-one settings stated credibly and consistently that Hezbollah was not present in their homes or the vicinity when the attacks took place. Nor was evidence found to suggest that Hezbollah had been there. These cases represent a sampling of testimonials collected by several researchers and NGOs.

KILLING OF FOUR BRAZILIAN-LEBANESE CIVILIANS IN SRIFA, JULY 13

On two occasions, the IDF killed civilians in the village Srifa, located twenty-five kilometers from the Israel-Lebanon border. The first attack on July 13 killed four Brazilian-Lebanese dual nationals. On July 19, another strike killed nineteen people (see below).

The first took place at about 4 a.m. on July 13, around the same time as other air strikes on the villages of Dweir and Baflay (see below). Fatima Musa, a Srifa resident, described the strike to Human Rights Watch:

First they hit a school building at night, from Wednesday to Thursday, starting at around 3:30 to 4 a.m. Then, they hit the house just behind us. We didn't

hear the airplanes, we just heard the rocket. We were sleeping and woke up when the house lit up from the explosions. My son was shivering with fear. The air strike hit a home in the Ain neighborhood of Srifa, demolishing the home and killing the family inside.

According to three witnesses, the four persons killed in the first strike on Srifa were all Brazilian-Lebanese dual nationals who had come to Srifa less than one month before to spend their summer vacation in the village. The witnesses identified the dead as Akil Merhi, thirty-three; his wife, Ahlam Merhi, twenty-five; their son, Abd'el Hadi Merhi, eight; and their daughter, Fatima Merhi, four. Because the family was only vacationing in Lebanon and normally resided in Brazil, it is unlikely that their adult members were involved in Hezbollah activities. The witnesses interviewed by Human Rights Watch also denied there was a Hezbollah presence or fighting in the area at the time of the attack.

In a statement, the IDF claimed to have struck two Hezbollah bases in Srifa on that day.

The bodies of the four Merhi family members were covered with rubble, and firing from Israeli war planes prevented the villagers from digging them out. According to one witness:

> The first time they tried to get the bodies out, some villagers went to try and extract them from the rubble, but another rocket fired on the home. Eventually they were able to get the bodies out, but that was only about noon. The bodies were buried in the village around 5 p.m. There was no Hezbollah activity around the home when the second bomb struck, the villagers said.

KILLING OF THIRTEEN CIVILIANS IN DWEIR, JULY 13

On Thursday, July 13, at about 4:00 a.m., Israeli warplanes struck the home of Shi'a cleric Sheikh Adil Mohammed Akash, killing the cleric and eleven members of his family. Sheikh Akash was an Iranian-educated cleric and is believed to have been affiliated with Hezbollah, although there is no indication that he took part in hostilities or had a commanding role, either of which might have made him a legitimate military target.

The first missile demolished the two-story home in the village of Dweir, located halfway between Saida and Tyre, while a second missile fired minutes later failed to explode. The sheikh and his family had returned to the home just twenty minutes before the strike, an eyewitness who lived nearby told Human Rights Watch. The strike killed Sheikh Adil Mohammed Akash; his wife, Rabab Yasin, thirty-nine; and ten of their children: Mohammed Baker Akash, eighteen; Mohammed Hassan Akash, seven; Fatima Akash, seventeen; Ali Rida Akash, twelve; Ghadir Akash, ten; Zeinab Akash, thirteen; Sara Akash, five; Batul Akash, four; Nour el-Huda Akash, two; and Safa' Akash, two months. The family's Sri Lankan maid, whose name is not known, also died. There was no evidence of Hezbollah military activity in or around the home, and the village of Dweir is too far from the Israeli border (about fourty kilometers) to serve as an effective launching site for Hezbollah rockets.

International law permits the targeting of military commanders in the course of armed conflict, provided that such attacks otherwise comply with the laws that protect civilians. Political leaders, however, are civilians; they are not legitimate military targets. The only exception to this rule is if they assume a military command or participate directly in military hostilities, which would then render them combatants.

Even if Israel believed Sheikh Akash was a legitimate military target because of his possible involvement in Hezbollah military activities (of which Human Rights Watch has no evidence), Israel should have taken into account the likely civilian casualties of attacking him in his home in determining whether the military gain of attacking him there outweighed the civilian harm. In this case, the death of at best one possible Hezbollah member cost the lives of twelve civilians, nine of them children.

KILLING OF NINE CIVILIANS IN BAFLAY, JULY 13

On Thursday, July 13, at about 4:30 a.m., an Israeli air strike demolished the home of fourty-five year-old Munir Zein, a farmer who also owned the truck used to collect the garbage of the village of Baflay, located some ten kilometers east of the southern port city of Tyre. Villagers interviewed by Human Rights Watch were adamant that Munir Zein had no connection to Hezbollah and that there was no

Hezbollah military activity or presence in the area. Ahmed Roz, a fourty-six year-old salesman who lived just 150 meters from the Zein home, recalled what happened:

> There was a big air strike between Baflay and al-Shehabiyye. We could see that attack from our home and were watching. Suddenly we heard a loud noise and saw a bright flash. Our doors were blown open. All we saw coming from the Zein house was smoke. Then there was a second strike. The Israeli air strike demolished the entire Zein home, killing all nine people inside, including three young children and two Kuwaiti nationals, according to two witnesses interviewed by Human Rights Watch. Those killed were Munir Zein and his wife Najla Zein, 45; their children Ali, 21; Wala, 18; Hassan, 12; Fatima, 9; and Hussain, 5. Also killed were Abdullah el-Tahi, the husband of one of the Zeins' daughters, Huriya, and his father, Heidar el-Tahi, both Kuwaiti nationals visiting their in-laws at the time of the attack. Huriya was in Beirut at the time of the attack. The bodies of most of her family members were recovered, except for that of Munir Zein, which remains buried under the rubble.

KILLING OF TWELVE CIVILIANS, ZIBQINE, JULY 13

In the morning of July 13, Israeli warplanes fired twice at the two-story home of Na'im Bazi', the late mayor of the village of Zibqine, located some five kilometers north of the Israel-Lebanon border. According to a respected Lebanese human rights activist who personally knew Na'im Bazi' (who died a few years ago), Bazi` and his family were not affiliated with Hezbollah Human Rights Watch also found no evidence of Hezbollah activity in the area of the home when the attack took place.

Twelve members of the family were reportedly killed in the air strike, including six children. Among the identified dead are Fatima Na`im Bazi`, about seventy-five; Na`im Wael Bazi`, twenty; Su`ad Nasour Bazi`, age unknown; `Aziz Bazi`, age unknown; Khalud Mohammed Bazi`, eighteen; Malay `Ali Bazi`, sixteen; Hussain Na`im Bazi`, age unknown; Miriam al-Hussein Bazi`, fourty-five; Amole Na`im Bazi`, age unknown; and Farah Muhammad Bazi`, age unknown. According to press reports, the youngest member of the Bazi` family killed in the attack was

seven years old.Two members of the family survived the air strike and were taken to the hospital. The bodies of the dead were taken to the morgue in Tyre, where they were buried during a July 22 mass burial ceremony involving eighty-four victims of the Israeli bombing campaign.

KILLING OF FOUR CIVILIANS, INCLUDING A U.S. - LEBANESE NATIONAL, IN BENT JBEIL, JULY 15

At 9:30 a.m. on Saturday, July 15, an Israeli airplane fired at a three-story civilian home in Bent Jbeil, a large town near Lebanon's border with Israel. The strike collapsed the home, killing eighty year-old Haj Abu Naji Mrouj, and his fourty year-old daughter whose name is unknown to Human Rights Watch, and trapping their bodies under the rubble. Hashem Kazan, sixteen who was wounded in the second strike while trying to recover the bodies (see below), told Human Rights Watch that Haj Abu Naji Mrouj had nothing to do with Hezbollah. Haj Abu Naji was not Hezbollah; he was an old man who didn't work anymore,he said. The Haj just lived in his house with his daughter The bodies of Haj Abu Naji and his daughter remains buried in the rubble of their demolished home. Another witness denied that there was any Hezbollah presence at or near the home at the time of the attack."

While villagers were attempting to dig the bodies out of the rubble, an Israeli warplane fired a second missile at the rubble and the rescuers at around 1:15 p.m., killing two male civilians, including thirty year-old Bilal Hreish, a US-Lebanese dual national. Hashem Kazan told Human Rights Watch how he was wounded during the second attack as he worked to recover the bodies:

> There was no Hezbollah at the house when I went there, and there was no fighting taking place in the village—there was no one but civilians. The civil defense was there to help us [recover the bodies]. Originally, there were about fifty people at the rubble trying to help, but then we were only about ten. We were on the rooftop of the house when we were hit. I didn't hear anything, I just heard the explosion.

Hashem Kazan stated that at least six were wounded in the second air strike, including two sons of Haj Abu Naji Mrouj.

KILLING OF TWO CIVILIANS IN HOULA, JULY 15

On Saturday July 15, at about 9:30 p.m., an Israeli Apache helicopter fired into the home of Ibrahim Suleiman, a wage laborer, in the village of Houla, located on the Israel-Lebanon border 25 kilometers east of Tyre. Neither he nor his children were involved in Hezbollah, nor was there any [Hezbollah] resistance in the town at the time, said Ibrahim Suleiman's neighbor Ali Rizak. The attack demolished the Suleiman home, killing his daughter, Salman Suleiman, seventeen, and his daughter-in-law, Zeinab, twenty, the mother of a four-year-old baby daughter. Zeinab's husband, Ali Suleiman, and his brother-in-law, Abed, were injured in the strike.

KILLING OF ELEVEN CIVILIANS, INCLUDING SEVEN CANADIAN-LEBANESE NATIONALS, IN AITAROUN, JULY 16

Between 6 and 7 p.m. on July 16, an Israeli airplane fired into a civilian home in Aitaroun, located just one kilometer north of the Israel-Lebanon border, killing eleven members of the Al-Akhrass family, including seven Canadian-Lebanese dual nationals who were vacationing in the village when the Israeli offensive began. A woman who lived three hundred meters away from the al-Akhrass home described the strike to Human Rights Watch:

> For the first two days after the kidnapping of the [Israeli] soldiers, we heard planes and bombs, but there was no attack on the village. Starting on the third day, they started bombing the fields around Aitaroun. We could hear the bombs fall, and they were starting fires in the field. There was a family from Canada; they had come just a few days before the war. They were in the kitchen hiding when a bomb hit their house. It was around 6 or 7 p.m. We suddenly heard a plane flying low; it dropped a rocket, and there was a big explosion, with rubble flying in the air. We were only about 300 meters away. People ran towards the house to try to save them, but they only found parts of bodies. When we tried to save them, a helicopter would appear in the sky and a warplane would fly around. So we got scared and stayed away. We recovered between six and eight bodies, but were told there may be more, and they were all in pieces. The Sheikh buried them immediately. There were young women among them. Human Rights Watch obtained the names of eight of the eleven people killed in the attack: Amira al-Akhrass, twenty-three; her children Saya, seven, Zeinab, five, Ahmad, three, and Salam, one; their aunt, Haniya al-Akhrass, believed to have been in her sixties; and two uncles, Mohammed Mahmood al-Akhrass, aged between seventy and eighty, and his younger brother, Hassan Mahmood al-Akhrass, about seventy. Villagers interviewed by Human Rigths Watch believe that some of the dead members of the al-Akhrass family are still buried under the rubble of the home, because they smelled decomposing bodies there.

Three villagers, interviewed separately by Human Rights Watch, vigorously denied that the al-Akhrass family had any connection with Hezbollah. They also denied that Hezbollah was active in the vicinity of the house or the village at the time of the attack. There was no presence of the [Hezbollah] resistance inside the village, one witness said. The positions of the resistance are around the village, not inside the village. A second witness told Human Rights Watch: I don't know why their house was targeted, because there was no resistance there. A third villager explained that while Aitaroun is right on the frontlines, Hezbollah was not firing from the village itself:

> Aitaroun is very close to the Israeli border, right on the line. If there

> is any sort of invasion [from Israel], it will happen there. But I have never seen a rocket fired from the village; those allegations are incorrect. On the other hand, if you talk in terms of support for Hezbollah, the entire south supports Hezbollah. Since 1948, our villages in the south have been hit by Israeli attacks, so what do you expect? The political leanings of the civilian population in a given area or village are irrelevant as far as their civilian status is concerned. To the extent that civilians do not participate in hostilities, that is, do not commit acts that by their nature or purpose are likely to cause harm to the personnel and equipment of the enemy, they continue to benefit from the protection afforded by their civilian status. Directing an attack against civilians, regardless of their political sympathies, is a war crime.

The Israeli government expressed its regret over the deaths and said that Israel was fighting Hezbollah [sic] and attacking its targets, and was being as careful as possible not to hurt innocent civilians.

KILLING OF ELEVEN CIVILIANS IN TYRE, JULY 16

Between 5 and 6 p.m. on July 16, two Israeli air strikes hit a residential building that housed the civil defense offices in Tyre on its first floor, collapsing the four top floors of the building. The apartment of Sayyid Ali Al-Amin, the Shi'a mufti for Tyre and Jabal Amel, and the offices of former member of parliament Muhammad Abdel Hamid Beydoun were also in the building. Neither Sayyid Al-Amin nor Mr. Beydoun is affiliated with Hezbollah, nor were they present in the building at the time of the attack. The strikes also damaged three neighboring apartment buildings, eight to ten stories high.

In Lebanon, the civil defense forces mostly carry out activities such as firefighting and providing medical and humanitarian assistance during crises. Human Rights Watch has found no evidence that the civil defense forces have taken part in hostilities between Lebanon and Israel, or that Hezbollah fighters were in the building or were storing equipment there.

According to two residents of the apartment building interviewed by

Human Rights Watch, the building residents were mostly teachers and doctors from the nearby hospital. A building resident and the director-general of the civil defense both told Human Rights Watch that Hezbollah had no presence in the buildings attacked.

Zakaria Alamadin, eighteen, had just left the basement of the apartment buildings when an Israeli missile hit the building, wounding him. Everything just went dark and things were falling on me, he said. Among those killed in the basement of the building were Zakaria's father, Mohammed Hussain Alamadin, a fifty-five year-old teacher, and Zakaria's fourteen year-old brother, Ali Mohammed Alamadin.

Mr.Alamadin, his son Ali and seven others killed as a result of the attack were transferred to the Tyre public hospital where they were buried during a public ceremony at the hospital on July 21: Najib Shamsuldin, Ali Shamsuldin, Hussein Muzyid, Haytham Hussein Muzyid, thirty-four; Alia Wehbi, forty; Sally Wehbi, seven; and Ayman Daher. A civil defense official in Tyre told Human Rights Watch on August 1 that two bodies remained trapped in the rubble of the collapsed top floors of the building, including that of an unidentified woman. When Human Rights Watch visited the civil defense building that day, the smell of decomposing bodies remained.

Ten staff members of the Lebanese civil defense force and twenty-five volunteers were inside the civil defense offices at the time of the attack. According to a civil defense official in Tyre, eight members of the civil defense were injured in the attack, including the head of the civil defense center, Abbas Ghorayeb, who was hospitalized in critical condition but has since recovered.

Civil defense institutions play a key role in the protection of the civilian population. There is international consensus that they and their personnel must be respected and protected. The same protections apply to civilians in the course of responding to appeals from the authorities to perform civil defense functions even though they are not formal members of civilian civil defense organizations. Objects used for civil defense purposes may not be destroyed or diverted from their proper use. The protection to which civil defense organizations and personnel are entitled shall not cease unless they commit, outside their proper tasks, acts harmful to the enemy.

Because there is no evidence that the Lebanese civil defense committed any acts harmful to the enemy, or that hostile acts had taken place from their installations, the attack on the civil defense building and its personnel constitutes a serious violation of international humanitarian law. The building was marked with a sign outside indicating that the civil defense had its offices there. However, a high-ranking civil defense official told Human Rights Watch that the building was not marked on the roof with the internationally recognized distinctive sign for civil defense, an equilateral blue triangle on an orange background.

It is not known whether Israel was aware of the protected status of the building at the time of the attack. Such information would affect the severity of the violation of international humanitarian law, as it would help determine whether Israel deliberately targeted a protected facility. The IDF has only stated that it targeted the headquarters of the [Hezbollah] organization in Tyre, an assertion contradicted by witnesses interviewed by Human Rights Watch._

KILLING OF TEN CIVILIANS IN AITAROUN, JULY 17

The night after an air strike that killed eleven members of the Canadian-Lebanese Al-Akhrass family, warplanes again struck a civilian home in Aitaroun. A witness who lived just one hundred meters from this second home told Human Rights Watch what she had seen. The day after the first massacre, we were sleeping; it was about 12:45 at night. Some were in the shelter, but we were in our house, said Manal Hassan Alawiye. Suddenly, we heard a plane flying low. The plane dropped a bomb, and all the windows in our house were blown out. My fiancé took me down to the shelter, and he went to help the people at the house. The two-story house that had been hit belonged to Hussain Neif Awada, the thirty-fouryear-old owner of a shoe shop. His brother Musa Neif Awada, fourty-seven, had brought his family to shelter in the stronger basement of Hussain's house. The air strike killed Hussain Awada; his wife, Jamila; and their children, Ali, about twelve, Hassan, eleven, Mahmood, seven, and two younger daughters whose names were not known to the witnesses. Also killed were Musa Awada and his two-year-old son.

A witness told Human Rights Watch:

The attack took place at night, so everyone was inside their homes. I am positive the family had nothing to do with Hezbollah. To my knowledge,

Hezbollah was not operating in the area, but I can't be 100% sure because we were sleeping. There is a road near the house that Hezbollah members could of course use to move around, but it was late and we were asleep in the shelter. Manal Hassan Alawiye also said the family had no links with Hezbollah. Musa Awada is a schoolteacher, and he had nothing to do with the resistance, she told Human Rights Watch. He wanted nothing to do with politics.

KILLING OF AN ESTIMATED TWENTY-SIX CIVILIANS IN SRIFA, JULY 19

Following the July 13 attack on Srifa village that killed four members of a Brazilian-Lebanese family (see above), Israeli warplanes and Apache helicopters continued to bomb the village and the surrounding fields, putting the villagers into a state of panic. A villager who had fled from Srifa explained how the heavy Israeli bombardment effectively trapped people inside the village, and how the village Sheikh had ordered the terrified civilians to seek refuge in the wealthier Moscow neighborhood of the village, where the multiple-story homes had concrete basements that offered greater protection:

After the first bombing, villagers started fleeing to neighboring villages for safety. Israel saw this from their drones, and they sent Apache helicopters to circle the village to prevent us from leaving. They started shelling the area around the village from airplanes. There were also Apache helicopters circling over the village. Two Apaches would come and leave, and then another two Apaches would come. The Sheikh of the village told the villagers to hide in their shelters. The people followed the advice of the Sheikh, and so they sought shelter in the big houses with basements used to dry tobacco [in the Moscow neighborhood.] Around 3:30 a.m. on July 19, at least three Israeli airplanes struck at least thirteen homes in the Moscow neighborhood, firing multiple munitions and collapsing the homes on their basements packed with sheltering civilians. At 3:30 a.m. the attacks started, said Qassim Mustafa Nazal, a resident. We suddenly heard bombs, one hit, then two hits at the same time, overall between 12 to 16 rockets hit the Moscow neighborhood.

As of this writing, the number of victims remains unknown because rescue workers have been unable to reach the village to recover the bodies, which

450 remain buried under the rubble, and Israeli warplanes and helicopter strikes have prevented the local villagers from recovering all of the bodies themselves. A local resident coordinating the recovery effort estimated to Human Rights Watch that approximately twenty-six bodies remained under the rubble as of July 31, but other residents estimated that as many as forty-two are missing after the attack. Two Human Rights Watch researchers visited Srifa briefly on July 31, as local residents recovered the heavily decomposed body of one female victim. The researchers saw no signs of Hezbollah military activity in the village, such as weapons, military equipment, or trenches. The researchers did count at least thirteen homes that had completely collapsed, and relatives of the victims claimed that bodies remained trapped under many of the homes and that they had received no assistance to recover the bodies.

From surviving relatives, Human Rights Watch has been able to obtain the names of sixteen persons believed to have been killed in the attack (but whose bodies are still not recovered). Among them are eight members of a single household: Kamil Diab Jaber, a fifty-three year-old owner of a construction business and a bakery; Mahmoud Jaber, thirty-three; Ali Kamil Jaber, thirty; Ahmed Kamil Jaber, twenty-seven; Menehil Najdi, eighty; Ali Nazal, twenty-eight; Ali Za'rour, thirty; and Bilal Hamoudi, thirty-one. Also believed killed were three people in the house next to the Jaber family: Abbas Dakrub, twenty-one; Abbas Dakrub (cousin of Abbas), eighteen; and Wasim Ghalib Najdi. At least five civilians are believed to have died in a third home belonging to Mohammed Qasim Najdi: Ahmed Najdi, thirty-five, who had just returned to Lebanon from Russia; Hassan Qoreim, twenty-two; Ali Najdi, thirty; Mohammed Ali Najdi, thirty-five; and Ali Hassan Sabra, seventeen.

According to a villager who was in the village at the time of the attack:

> There was no Hezbollah in the neighborhood. This neighborhood is known to be partial to the Communist Party, not Hezbollah. There are no Hezbollah people living there. Hezbollah does not have a need to be in this neighborhood, because we are 40 kilometers away from Israel, and the neighborhood looks out over the sea, it is not a strategic place.

Two additional villagers told Human Rights Watch in separate interviews that Hezbollah had not been present in the neighborhood around the time of the

attack. Except for one person, who didn't even belong to Hezbollah, no one in that neighborhood knew how to handle weapons, said Hussain Nazal. He added, If they hit some houses that belong to Hezbollah we would understand, but this is not the [Hezbollah] neighborhood. Human Rights Watch asked the office of the IDF spokesperson for information about the attack, which was widely reported in the press. The spokesperson responded that, after consulting with the Israeli Air Force, on that day at that place we don't have a report of any air strike.

KILLING OF THREE CIVILIANS IN DEBBINE MARJA'YOUN, JULY 19

At 7 p.m. on Wednesday, July 19, Israeli munitions destroyed the home of Dawood al-Khaled in Debbine Marjayoun (a neighborhood on the outskirts of the southern town of Marjayoun). Dawood's sister, who lived next door, told Human Rights Watch that the strike came from an Israeli Apache helicopter. At the time of the attack, the house was occupied by Dawood; his wife, Hamida; and their six children: Hoda, fourteen; Fatima, twelve; Abla, ten; Ali, three; Huweida, eight; and Ahmad, one. The strike killed Dawood, his daughter, Abla, and his son, Ahmad. Hoda and Huweida were gravely injured. Hamida and the other two children, Fatima and Ali, were unharmed. Dawood's sister told Human Rights Watch that he was a farmer and not involved with Hezbollah. She told Human Rights Watch that Hezbollah was active outside of the village but not inside, and that, to her knowledge, there were no military objects next to Dawood's house. A second attack hit the area around the house later on but injured no one.

DEATH OF ONE CIVILIAN AND WOUNDING OF TWELVE BY CLUSTER MUNITIONS IN BLIDA, JULY 19

In addition to strikes from airplanes, helicopters, and traditional artillery, Israel has used artillery-fired cluster munitions against populated areas, causing civilian casualties. According to eyewitnesses and survivors of the attack interviewed by Human Rights Watch, Israel fired several artillery-based cluster munitions at Blida around 3:00 p.m. on July 19. Three witnesses described how the artillery shells dropped hundreds of cluster submunitions on the village. They described the submunitions as smaller projectiles that emerged from their larger shells.

The cluster attack killed sixty-year-old Maryam Ibrahim inside her home. At least two submunitions from the attack entered the basement that the Ali family was using as a shelter, wounding twelve people, including seven children. Ahmed Ali, a fourty-five year-old taxi driver and head of the family, lost both legs from injuries caused by the cluster submunitions. Five of his children were wounded: Mira, sixteen; Fatima, twelve; Ali, ten; Aya, three; and Ola, one. His wife, Akram Ibrahim, thirty-five, and his mother-in-law, Ola Musa, eighty, were also wounded. Four relatives, all German-Lebanese dual nationals sheltering with the family, were wounded as well: Mohammed Ibrahim, fourty-five; his wife Fatima, fourty; and their children Ali, sixteen, and Rula, thirteen. According to Ahmed Ali, there were no Hezbollah in our village. There was fighting in Aitaroun [on the Israeli border southwest of Blida, located about three- four kilometers away] at the time, and we are very close to them. From about two kilometers away from us, Hezbollah was firing rockets, but the IDF rockets fell on our village. Akram Ibrahim, one of the wounded family members, told Human Rights Watch: There was no resistance in the village and no one firing from the village. We have nothing to do with the parties, we are just civilians.

Cluster munitions are weapons, delivered from the air or ground, that disperse dozens, and often hundreds, of submunitions (often called grenades in surface-delivered weapons and bomblets in air-delivered weapons) over a large area, thereby increasing the radius of destructive effect over a target. Their wide dispersal area precludes them from being focused on a particular target unless it is quite large.

There is no specific international prohibition on the use of cluster munitions (unlike, for example, blinding lasers or chemical weapons). However, their use in or near civilian areas violates the international humanitarian law prohibition on indiscriminate attacks because they cannot be directed in a way that distinguishes between military targets and civilians. In addition, cluster bomblets have a high initial failure rate—the munitions used by Israel in Lebanon have an initial failure rate of up to 14 percent—which results in numerous unexploded but highly volatile "duds" scattered about the landscape. These pose similar risks to civilians as antipersonnel landmines.

KILLING OF THREE CIVILIANS, INCLUDING BRAZILIAN-LEBANESE NATIONAL, IN TALLOUSA, JULY 20

On the afternoon of Thursday, July 20, Israeli warplanes attacked three civilian homes, including the house of the mayor, in the village of Tallousa, located some twenty kilometers east of Tyre. According to the villagers, the mayor was not associated with Hezbollah and had made his money in Africa before returning to Tallousa. The villagers said that there was no Hezbollah military activity in the vicinity when the air strike occurred.

The air strike collapsed the three homes, killing the mayor's mother, Dahiya Turmus, seventy, an eight-year-old boy named Ali Nabih in the neighboring home, and a Brazilian-Lebanese dual national boy aged between seven and ten whose name the witness Human Rights Watch interviewed did not know.

KILLING OF FOUR U.N. OBSERVERS, JULY 25

Around 7:30 p.m. on July 25, an Israeli precision-guided missile directly hit the clearly marked and well known observer post of the U.N Observer Group Lebanon (OGL) near Khiyam, demolishing a three-story building at the base and killing four unarmed United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) observers from Austria, Canada, Finland, and China.

The direct hit came after fourteen Israeli aerial bombs and artillery shells had fallen close to the post, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) said. There was no Hezbollah presence or firing near the UN position during the period of the attack. According to the United Nations, the Force Commander in south Lebanon, Gen. Alain Pelligrini, was in repeated contact with Israeli Army officers throughout the afternoon, pressing the need to protect that particular U.N. position from firing.

In a statement, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan expressed shock at the apparently deliberate targeting of the clearly marked UN observer post. He called it a coordinated artillery and aerial attack and urged Israel to conduct an investigation. Israel expressed deep regret over the incident and rejected

454 allegations that it had targeted the UN post. Prime Minister Ehud Olmert promised to conduct a thorough investigation. It's inconceivable for the UN to define an error as an apparently deliberate action, he said. Secretary General Annan accepted the Israeli government's assurance that the attack was not deliberate but regretted that Israel would not allow the UN to participate in the investigation.

This was the first deadly attack on UN observers in southern Lebanon during the current conflict, but Israeli forces have struck at or near other clearly marked UN positions since the beginning of the fighting. Hezbollah has occasionally fired at Israeli targets from near UN positions, but in many cases Israeli fire has struck UN posts in the absence of any Hezbollah presence.

On July 24, four Ghanaian UNIFIL observers were lightly injured when an Israeli tank shell fell inside their UN post at Rmaish, one of six incidents of IDF fire on or close to UN positions recorded that day. On July 16, UNIFIL recorded seventeen instances of IDF fire on UN observer posts, including two direct hits inside UNIFIL observer posts, and an Indian peacekeeper was seriously wounded by an IDF tank shell fired inside a UN post. UNIFIL's summary of attacks on its positions on July 19 gives a troubling overview of just how often Israeli shells have landed on their positions, as well as the actions of Hezbollah fighters that endanger UNIFIL personnel:

There were thirty-one incidents of firing close to UN positions during the past twenty-four hours, with three positions suffering direct hits from the Israeli side. Ten artillery shells impacted inside the UN position of the Ghanaian battalion on the coast of Ras Naquora, causing extensive damage. Four artillery shells impacted inside the patrol base of the Observer Group Lebanon in the Marun Al Ras area, including three direct impacts on the building which caused extensive damage and cut electricity and communication connections. At the time of the shelling, there were 36 civilians inside the position, most of whom were women and children from the village of Marun Al Ras. There were no casualties. One artillery shell impacted inside the UNIFIL Headquarters compound in Naqoura, causing extensive damage and danger to the UNIFIL Hospital where the doctors were operating at the time. Splinters of artillery shells also damaged the boundary wall of the Naqoura camp. Extensive shelling damage was reported in the Ghanaian battalion position south

of Alma Ash Shab. Hezbollah firing was also reported from the immediate vicinity of UN positions in the Naqoura and Marun Al Ras areas at the time of the incidents.

On July 17, a UNIFIL medical team came under IDF fire while trying to retrieve the bodies of sixteen civilians killed by an Israeli strike on the road between al-Bayyadah and Sharma as they fled the village of Marwahin. On July 16, UNIFIL recorded seventeen instances of IDF fire close to UN observer posts, and two direct hits inside UNIFIL observer posts. An Indian peacekeeper was seriously wounded at that time by shrapnel from Israeli tank fire. Even if Hezbollah was in the area of the UN during these attacks, the IDF apparently did not take adequate care to avoid harm to UN personnel.

Peacekeeping forces are not parties to a conflict, even if they are usually professional soldiers. As long as they do not take part in hostilities, they are entitled to the same protection from attack afforded to civilians. Under customary law, directing attacks against peacekeepers or objects involved in a peacekeeping operation, is prohibited and constitutes a war crime. Attacking from next to or near peacekeepers in order to seek immunity from attack is also a war crime. At the very least, stationing military forces or materiel near a U.N. base violates the duty to take all feasible precautions to avoid harm to noncombatants

KILLING OF AT LEAST 28 CIVILIANS IN QANA, JULY 30

Around 1 a.m. on July 30, Israeli warplanes fired missiles at the village of Qana. Among the homes struck was a three-story building in which sixty-three members of two extended families had sought shelter. The home collapsed and killed at least twenty-eight people. Sixteen children are among the dead.

Initial reports after the attack put the death toll at fifty-four, which was based on a register of sixty-three persons who had sought shelter in the building that was struck, and the rescue teams' ability to locate only nine survivors. Human Rights Watch learned after a visit to Qana that at least twenty-two people escaped the basement, and twenty-eight are confirmed dead. The fate of the remaining thirteen people who hid in the basement is unknown, and village representatives believe they remain buried in the debris.

The civilians from the two families had sought shelter in the house because it was one of the larger buildings in the area and had a reinforced basement, according to the deputy mayor of the town, Dr. Issam Matuni.

According to Muhammed Mahmoud Shalhoub, a sixty-one year-old farmer who was in the basement during the attack, sixty-three members of the Shalhoub and Hashim families went to hide in three ground-floor rooms of the three-story building when the first missile landed in the village around 6 p.m. on July 29, he said. He explained how, around 1 a.m. on July 30, after heavy bombing in the village, an Israeli missile struck the ground floor of the home:

> It felt like someone lifted the house. The ground floor of the house is 2.5 meters high. When the first strike hit, it hit below us and the whole house lifted, the rocket hit under the house. I was sitting by the door—it got very dusty and smoky —and we were all in shock. I was not injured and found myself [thrown] outside. There was a lot of screaming inside. When I tried to go back in I couldn't see because of the smoke. I started pushing people out, whomever I could find.

> Five minutes later, another air strike came and hit the other side of the building, behind us. After the second strike, we could barely breathe and we couldn't see anything. There were three rooms in the house where people were hiding [on the ground floor]. After the first strike, a lot of

earth was pushed up into the rooms. We only managed to find some people in the first room. Shalhoub vigorously denied that any Hezbollah fighters were present in or around the home when the attack took place. All four roads to Qana village had been cut by Israeli bombs, he said, which would have made it difficult if not impossible for Hezbollah to move rocket launchers into the village.

If they [the IDF] really saw the rocket launcher, where did it go?"Shalhoub said. We showed Israel our dead, why don't the Israelis show us the rocket launchers?

Ghazi Aydaji, another Qana villager, who rushed to the house when it was hit at 1 a.m., gave an account consistent with Shalhoub's. He and others removed a number of people from the building after the first strike, he said, but they could remove no one else after the second strike hit five minutes later. If Hezbollah was firing near the house, would a family of over 50 people just sit there? he said to Human Rights Watch. Researchers visited Qana on July 31, the day after the attack, and did not find any destroyed military equipment in or near the home. None of the dozens of international journalists, rescue workers, and international observers who visited Qana on July 30 and 31 reported seeing any evidence of Hezbollah military presence in or around the home around the time that it was hit. Rescue workers recovered no bodies of apparent Hezbollah fighters from in or near the building.

After the incident, Israeli government expressed regret over the civilian deaths and said it would conduct an investigation. Various officials said that Hezbollah fighters were to blame for firing rockets near the building, and the IDF had warned civilians to leave.

An unnamed senior Israeli air force commander said the military hit the building with a precision-guided bomb because Hezbollah had fired rockets from the area. When asked how the military knew about the rockets but not the presence of civilians in the building, the commander said the IDF was capable of detecting missile launches because they are very dynamic, while the civilians were not seen because they had been hiding in the building for some days. His opinion contradicts the testimony of Muhammed Mahmoud Shalhoub, above, who said the families went into the house when the aerial attack began around 6 p.m. on July 29.

On August 1, one of Israel's top military correspondents, reported in the Israeli daily Ha'aretz that, while the Israeli Air Force investigation into the incident was ongoing, questions have been raised over military accounts of the incident. He elaborated that the IDF had changed its original story and that it now appears that the military had no information on rockets launched from the site of the building, or the presence of Hezbollah men at the time.

As of August 2, the IDF had not publicized any conclusions from its internal military probe and Human Rights Watch continues to call for an international investigation into the incident.

According to lists from the Lebanese Red Cross and Tyre hospital, the confirmed dead as of August 1 are: Husna Hashem, seventy-five; Mahdi Mahmud Hashem, sixty-eight; Ibrahim Hashem, sixty-five; Ahmad Mahmud Shalhoub, fifty-five; Afaf al-Zabad, fourty-five; Nabila Ali Amin Shalhoub, fourty; Tayssir `Ali Shalhoub, thirty-nine; Khadije Ali Yussef, thirty-one; Maryam Hassan Mohsen, thirty; Lina Muhammad Mahmud Shalhoub, thirty; Ola Ahmad Mahmud Shalhoub, twenty-five; Ali Ahmad Mahmud Shalhoub, seventeen; Hussein Ahmad Hashem, twelve; Houra' Muhammad Qassem Shalhoub, twelve; Ali Muhammad Kassem Shalhoub, ten; Jafar Mahmud Hashem, ten; Qassem Samih Shalhoub, nine; Yahya Muhammad Qassem Shalhoub, nine; Qassem Muhammad Shalhoub, seven; Raqiteh Mahmud Shalhoub, seven; Ibrahim Ahmad Hashem, seven; Yussef Ahmad Mahmud Shalhoub, six; Zaynab Muhammad Ali Amin Shalhoub, 6; Fatima Muhammad Hashem, four; Ali Ahmad Hashem, three; Zahra Muhammad Qassem Shalhoub, two; Abbas Ahmad Hashem, nine months; Roukaya Mohammad Hashem, age unknown.

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ISRAELI ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS AS THEY FLED THEIR HOMES DURING THE JULY WAR

Israeli attacks did not diminish, nor did their pattern appear to change, even when it became clear that the victims of the bombardments were predominantly civilians, which was the case from the first day of the conflict

Amnesty International August 23, 2006

Attacking fleeing civilians is a grave breach of international humanitarian law and constitutes a clear war crime under the Geneva Conventions and the United Nations system of Treaties and Conventions in force.

Israel's attacks on Lebanon during the July War trapped hundreds of thousands of civilians in southern Lebanese villages, including tens of thousands of dual nationals and foreigners who were vacationing in Lebanon at the time. The roads in many parts of southern Lebanon became too dangerous to travel, with daily Israeli air strikes on civilian vehicles trying to flee.

Around July 15, the Israeli army began ordering villagers from the south to evacuate immediately, dropping leaflets, using speaker systems, making radio broadcasts, and even sending messages in Arabic on mobile phones. On the morning of July 15, for example, an Arabic speaker from the Israeli side of the border used a loudspeaker to tell the villagers of Marwahin to leave their homes within two hours (twenty-one of the villagers were killed that same day when an Israeli weapon struck their car, as discussed below). Over the following days, Israeli officials also called many village leaders on their mobile phones with a recorded message, ordering them to leave their villages immediately and to head north of the Litani River. The message warned them not to travel on motorcycles, vans, or trucks. On July 28, Israel again ordered civilians to vacate their homes and move northwards within hours, stating that any vehicle traveling in this area after 10 a.m. and any person who chooses not to follow this warning is putting his and his family's life at risk.

As documented below, the Israeli military did not follow its orders to evacuate with the creation of safe passage routes, and on a daily basis Israeli warplanes and helicopters struck civilians in cars who were trying to flee, many with white flags out the windows, a widely accepted sign of civilian status. In two cases in this report,

Israeli munitions struck humanitarian convoys and ambulances as they traveled the roads. On some days, Israeli war planes hit dozens of civilian cars, showing a clear pattern of failing to distinguish between civilian and military objects.

As a result of the destruction of most main roads in the south, fleeing civilians had to wind their way through narrow secondary roads, facing the constant danger of aerial attack. Taxi fares skyrocketed, often to several hundred dollars per person, or $1,000 per vehicle. The roads became so treacherous that corpses were left in vehicles struck by the IDF, because recovery teams could not reach the site. An exhausted man from Aitaroun, on the Israeli border, recounted his treacherous journey soon after his arrival in Beirut:

> We had two vans for four families, eighteen people in all. The journey was very dangerous, with airplanes constantly in the sky. The main road is cut, so we had to go on little side roads or off the road. It took seven hours to Beirut. Just before we reached Tyre, the planes hit a car in front of us; it was still burning when we got there, a civilian car.
>
> We saw a total of thirteen cars along the way that had been bombed, often with civilians in them who had died. We saw the dead women and children, and their clothes and mattresses in the car....There were four cars with bodies still in them, the smell—you could smell them from kilometers away. We had to close the windows because of the smell.

Manal Hassan Alawiye, a twenty-two-year-old woman from Aitaroun, recalled a similarly harrowing journey:

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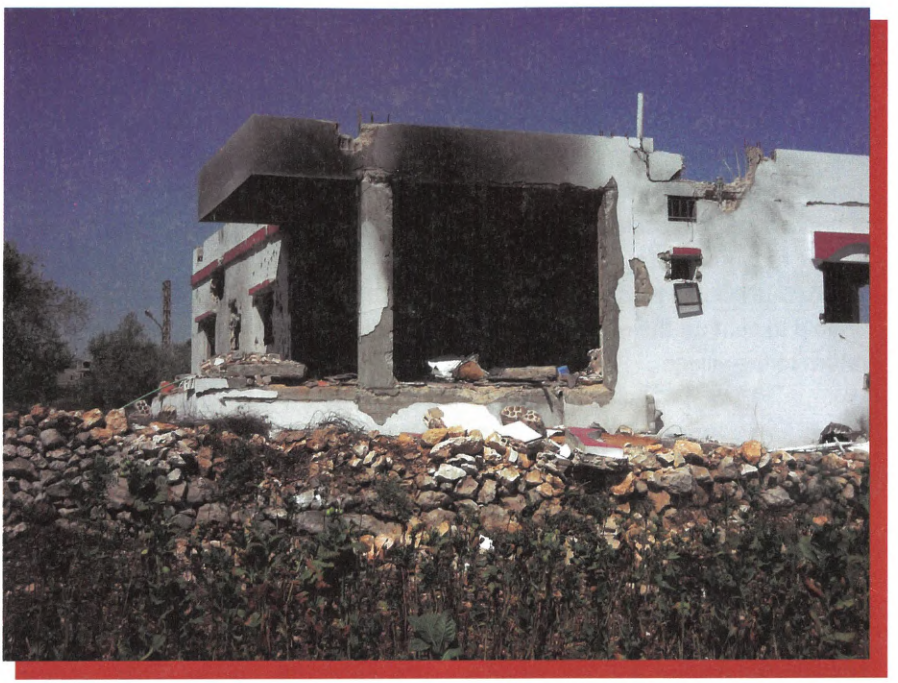
> Neighbors of mine left with a van and two cars, and I went with them. We first stopped at Bent Jbeil at the hospital because there was a plane in the air. When we started again, the plane came and hit the road in front and behind us, just ten meters away from us, with bombs. But we just kept driving. We were flying white flags. Along the way, we saw the dead still inside the cars. I remember well when we approached es-Soultaniye, there was a Mercedes 300 overturned with dead people inside, we wanted to stop but the driver said we would be hit. There were men, women and children; I remember seeing two dead children. Along the way, we met an old woman who was crying by the side of the road because no-one wanted to take her, so we took her with us. There was lots of destruction, all of the gas stations were bombed and we drove as fast as we could. It only got better when we crossed the Litani River. Israel at times gave assurances to officials at UNIFIL that civilian cars traveling north on the main roads would not be attacked However, as documented in a number of examples below, Israel repeatedly attacked both individual vehicles and entire convoys of civilians who heeded the Israeli warnings to abandon their villages. The attacks on civilian vehicles were so fierce that, according to the Lebanese Red Cross, one ambulance driver witnessed three separate attacks while driving from Tebnine to Tyre with wounded civilians: first he witnessed the car in front of the ambulance get hit and fall into a ravine near Kafra; then a van got hit in Siddiquine, the blast of the explosion throwing the car into the air and hitting the ambulance on its side; and then a motorcycle got hit on the road near Hanaouay.

Although Israeli officials are no doubt aware of the civilian casualties that their bombing of vehicles has caused, such attacks continued apace as this report went to print. At best, the continued attacks on fleeing civilians show reckless disregard by Israel for its obligation to distinguish between civilian and military objects, and a complete failure to take adequate safeguards to prevent civilian deaths. At worst, Israel is deliberately targeting civilian vehicles as part of the price that must be paid to stop all traffic in parts of Lebanon. Either way, Israel is flagrantly violating its obligations under international humanitarian law, and its widespread attacks on civilian vehicles are war crimes.



KILLING OF TWENTY-ONE CIVILIANS FLEEING MARWAHIN, JULY 15

On July 15, an Israeli strike on a convoy of civilians fleeing from the Lebanese border village of Marwahin killed twenty-one people, including fourteen children. Many villagers fled after the IDF warned them to evacuate ahead of a threatened attack. In addition, a relative of one of the victims said, Hezbollah had stored weapons in the village, and the residents feared a retaliatory IDF attack. The villagers of Marwahin are Sunni and have long-standing tensions with the Shi'a Hezbollah organization.

A witness explained that some of the villagers first sought refuge at a nearby UNIFIL position located 1.5 kilometers from the village, explaining that they had been ordered to evacuate by the IDF:

> I was in phone contact with my relatives in the village. Around 8:30-9:00 a.m. on that day, my relatives called to say that the Israelis had warned they should evacuate in two hours. The Israelis had spoken on loudspeakers in Arabic from across the border, which is nearby. My relatives said they would go to the UNIFIL post beside the village. They went to the outpost and stayed there for two hours, but after two hours UNIFIL said they had orders not to let them in.

UNIFIL contacted the IDF liaison officer and the Lebanese army, but was unable to confirm the evacuation order, so the peacekeepers told the villagers to return to the village.

At 11 a.m., a group of villagers left Marwahin in a convoy of vehicles, on the single main road out of the village. On the way, between the villages of Chamaa and Biyada, two weapons believed to have been fired from Israeli helicopters struck a white pick-up and a passenger car in the convoy. A photographer for an international news agency arrived at the scene two hours after the attack. He told Human Rights Watch that he found a white pick-up truck and a passenger car completely destroyed, and counted sixteen bodies at the scene, including many children. He did not see any armed persons among the bodies. UNIFIL retrieved sixteen bodies from the scene, and stated that their medical teams came under fire during the rescue operation. A total of twenty-one people died during the attack, based on a list of names provided to Human Rights Watch by the relatives, and on the number of bodies ultimately received at the Tyre Government hospital.

Those killed in the air strike were: Ali Abdullah, sixty; Mohammed Abdullah, fifteen; Sabha Abdullah, in her eighties; Sana Abdullah, thirty-five (pregnant); Ali Kamel Abdullah, fourteen; Mohammed Kamel Abdullah, thirteen; Hussain Abdullah, ten-eleven; Hassan Abdullah, nine; Lama Abdullah, one-two; Zahra Abdullah, fifty-two; Hadi Abdullah, six-seven; Mirna Abdullah, thirteen; Maryam Abdullah,twenty-nine; Mohammed Ghannam, thirty-five; Suha Abdullah, thirty (seven months pregnant); Qassim Ghannam, seventeen; Mustafa Ghannam, fifteen; Hussain Ghannam, fourteen; Zeinab Ghannam, ten; Fatima, nine; and Duha Ghannam, seven.

KILLING OF TWO AND WOUNDING OF FOUR FLEEING MANSOURI, JULY 23

The Srour family who resides in Germany was vacationing in the seaside village of Mansouri, ten miles south of Tyre, having arrived two days before the fighting in Lebanon began. On July 23, the family attempted to travel in a three-car convoy to Tyre, waving white flags, to evacuate to Germany. At about 10:30 a.m., an Israeli weapon struck their vehicle about four kilometers south of Tyre, near the village of Maaliye. Darwish Mudaihli, the driver of the car, died instantly, as did his brother-in-law, Mohammed Srour. The car caught on fire with the bodies of Darwish Mudaihli and Mohammed Srour inside.

Mohammed Srour's children, Ahmed, fifteen; Ali, thirteen; Mahmoud, eight; and eight-month-old Mariam were severely burned during the attack. There was no sign of Hezbollah military activity or weapons in the vicinity, relatives of the victims said, and no one in the family had connections to Hezbollah.

WOUNDING OF NINE CIVILIANS FLEEING MANSOURI, JULY 23

Shortly after the attack on the Srour family, an Israeli Apache helicopter hit a second civilian convoy in the area. Zein Zabad, a forty-five-year-old fruit farmer, had also driven up from Mansouri, attempting to evacuate his wife and four children. On the way, the family picked up a man who had been wounded when an air strike hit his car in Qlaile, and two more wounded people in Maaliye (the same area as the Srour attack), who were hit by an air strike while riding a motorcycle. Ali Jafar, a twenty-one-year-old day laborer who was injured in that helicopter strike on his motorcycle, told Human Rights Watch:

> When I was hit, there was nothing around, no resistance [Hezbollah]. I was driving in shorts with my bag over my back, looking like a civilian. I was driving the motorcycle and suddenly it just melted in my hands. There was a rocket from a helicopter.
> I stopped a Range Rover to take us away, he was from our village.

A munition fired from an Israeli Apache helicopter struck Zein Zabad's car just forty meters from the Najem Hospital, wounding all nine persons inside. The attack on the Zabad family took place within sight of the Najem hospital, and there is no evidence of Hezbollah military activity in the vicinity of the hospital at the time of the attack.

KILLING OF THREE CIVILIANS AND WOUNDING OF FOURTEEN FLEEING KAFRA, JULY 23

Heavy Israeli bombardments in Kafra trapped fifty members of the extended Shaita family in a single home since the beginning of the war. Running out of food, the family decided to leave the village after hearing the evacuation orders from the IDF. On July 21, the family contacted the Red Cross for assistance with evacuation, but the Red Cross was unable to reach the village. On July 22, thirty-two family members, including most of the children present in the house, packed into a jeep and two cars, leaving seventeen family members behind without transportation. The first convoy made it safely to Tyre.

On July 23, the remaining family members convinced a taxi driver to take them to Tyre in a van, paying $1,000 for the drive. The family waved a large white flag outside the van, and many of the family members were holding smaller white cloths, to indicate their civilian status.

As the van left Kafra, it was hit by an Israeli strike. Musbah Shaita, a member of the family who was sitting next to the driver but survived, and reported I heard a noise like a blown tire, and the van started swerving. I told the driver to slow down the car, and he said, we've been hit! The van stopped, and the driver and I got out. As the driver was calling on me to help get the wounded out, a second missile hit the car.

Three persons died in the strike: Nazira Shaita, about seventy; her son Mohammed Amin Shaita, fifty-three; and the family's Syrian janitor, Zakwan [family name unknown], in his mid-forties. Their bodies remained in the vehicle, because recovery teams could not reach the area for days after the incident. The fourteen other family members were wounded, many of them severely.

According to Musbhah Shaita, when we were hit, there was no one around—no resistance [Hezbollah], nothing. The only person we saw on the road before was a wounded driver by the side of the road, asking for help.

KILLING OF ONE CIVILIAN TRAVELING TO BUY FOOD, SUPPLIES AND MEDICATION, JULY 24

In the morning of Monday, July 24, Hassan Ibrahim Al-Sayyid, a twenty-six year-old man from the village of Beit Leef, was killed when an Israeli airplane fired on him while he drove his motorcycle. Hassan's sister told Human Rights Watch that Hassan had left his village to buy food, candles and medication from a neighboring village for his brother, who is receiving dialysis treatment. The weapon hit Hassan's motorbike on the road between Kafra and Siddiquine. According to his sister, Hassan was not a member of Hezbollah, and was on his way to get supplies for his relatives. The corpse was transferred to Tyre's public hospital.

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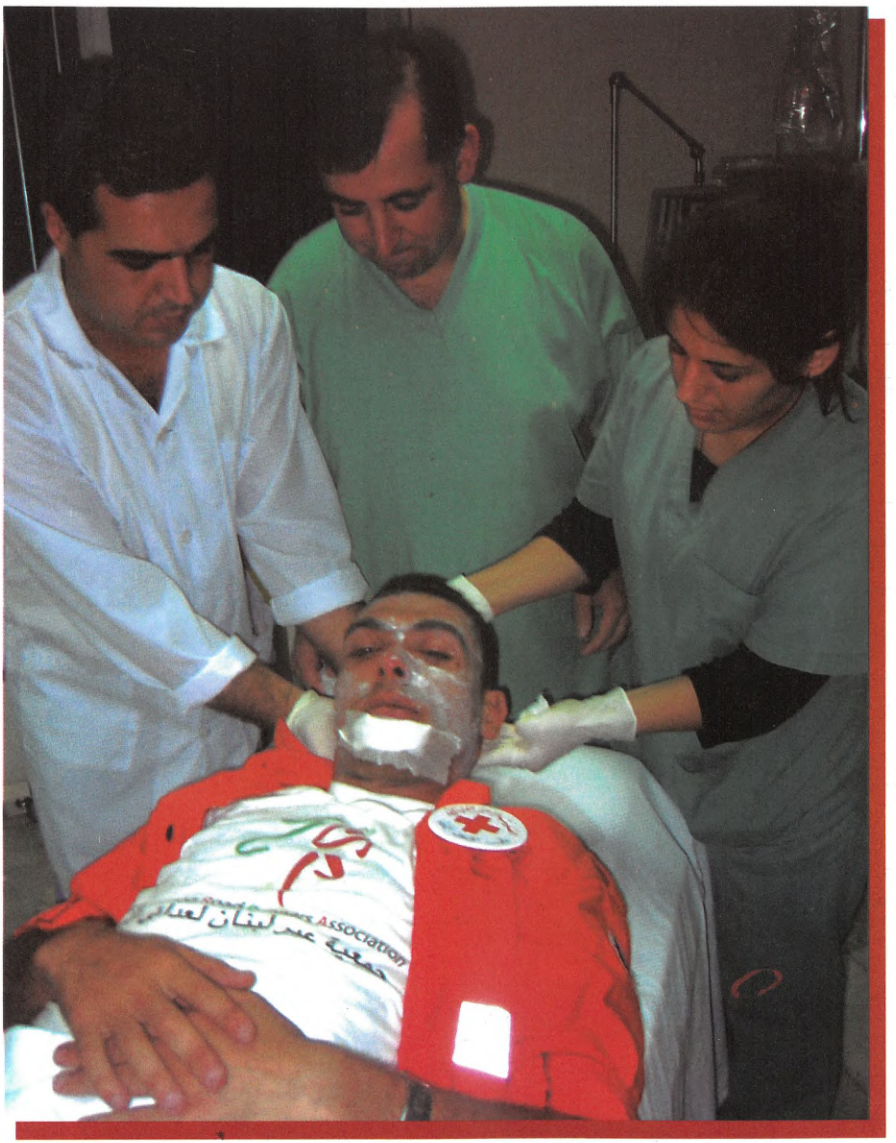
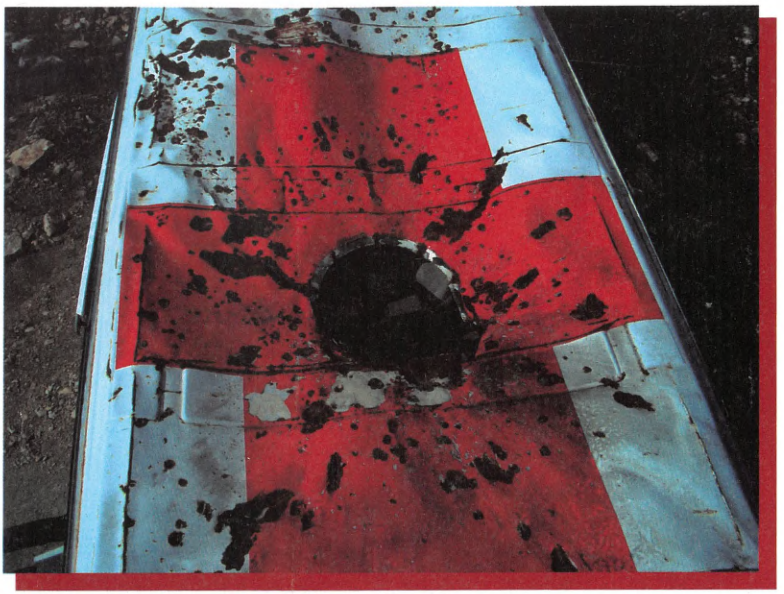
WOUNDING OF SIX AMBULANCE DRIVERS AND THREE PATIENTS, JULY 23

On July 23, at 11:15 p.m., Israeli warplanes struck two clearly marked Red Cross ambulances in the village of Qana. The ambulances, which had Red Cross flags illuminated by a spot light mounted on the ambulance, were transferring three wounded Lebanese civilians from one ambulance to the other when the planes struck. A weapon directly hit one ambulance, and a second attack struck the second ambulance a few minutes later. All six of the Red Cross workers were injured during the attack, and the three patients they were treating suffered additional injuries. One of the patients, a middle-aged man, lost his leg in the ambulance strike, while his elderly mother was partially paralyzed. The third patient, a young boy, received multiple shrapnel wounds to the head.



Making medical or religious personnel, medical units or medical transports the object of attack is a war crime.



The remnants of the US missile which was used to target this Red Cross Ambulance at Zibqine, Lebanon August 16, 2006

War crime

The Geneva Conventions

Article 19: Fixed establishments and mobile medical units of the Medical Service may in no circumstances be attacked.

Article 24: Medical personnel exclusively engaged in the search for, or the collection, transport or treatment of the wounded or sick, or in the prevention of disease, staff exclusively engaged in the administration of medical units and establishments, as well as chaplains attached to the armed forces, shall be respected and protected in all circumstances.

The above photos show deliberate Israeli targeting of medical personal, ambulances, and rescue vehicles at Tibnin and Tyre. Report from Israeli reservist's claim that 'extra point' were given for 'bull eye' hits on Red Cross and emergency vehicles. Ambulance number 777 and 782 were attacked on July 23, 2006 with drones firing missiles possibly with DIME. The investigation continues.

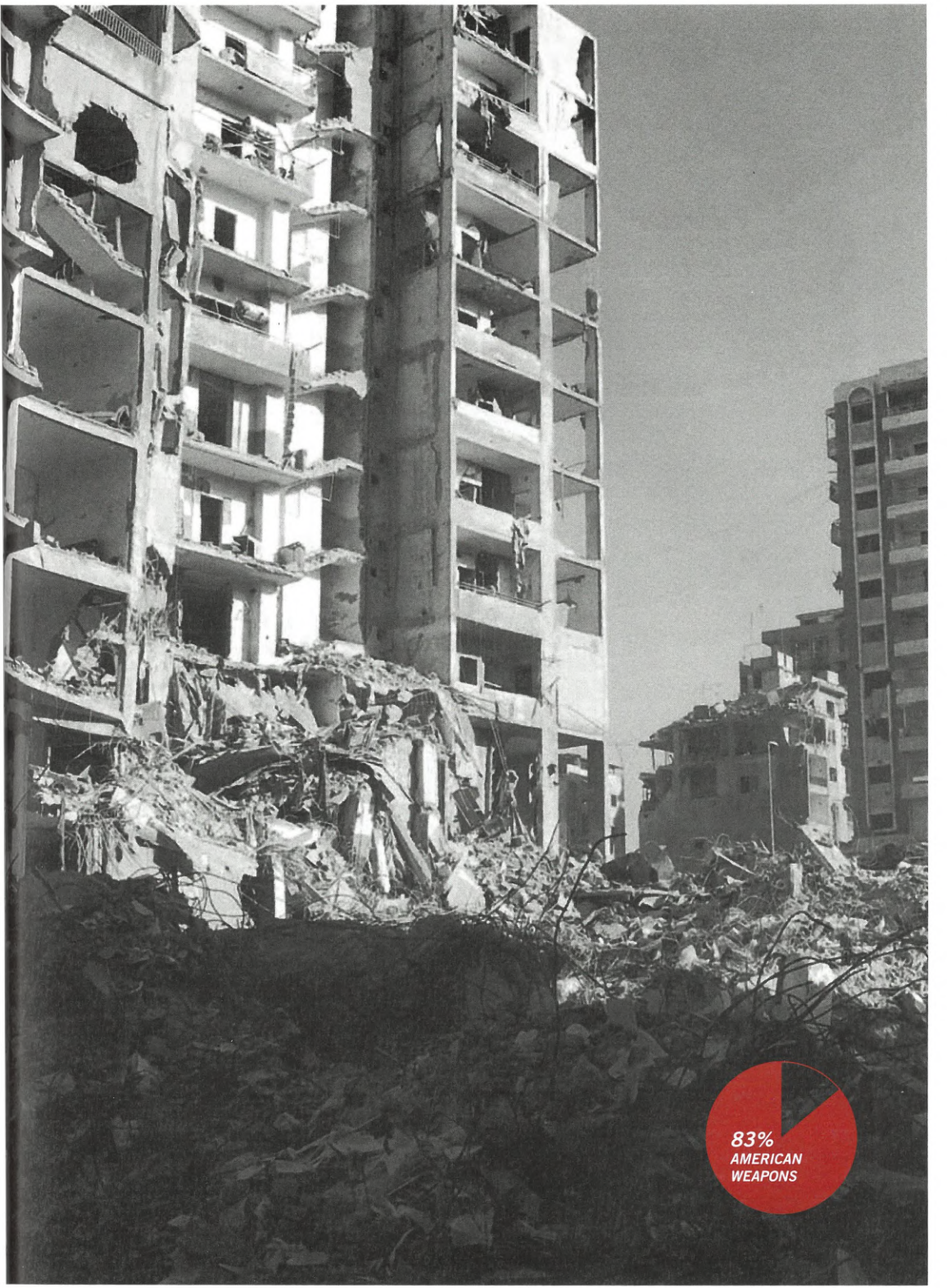
March 7, 2007 Israeli soldiers examining the new Heron «spy drone» which fires both TOW and Striker missiles as well as carries live cams for instant targeting. This model, an improved version of the one used in the July War, is claimed to be able to stay airborne for 12 hours. Funded by the US but built in Israel. According to Jane's Defense Weekly, Israel will use it widely across Southern Lebanon, the Bekaa and the Syrian/Lebanese border starting in April, 2007.

US law prohibits the President from providing military aid to any country that

«engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights».

Under the 1976 US Arms Export Control Act, it is illegal to use US weapons to carry out extra-judicial killings, to launch attacks against civilians, to conduct indiscriminate bombardments of villages, or to attack any civilian infrastructure. This act stipulates that weapons be sold to friendly countries solely for internal security and legitimate self-defense.

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN SOUTH BEIRUT
Photo: fplamb@gmail.com


83%
AMERICAN
WEAPONS

“What we are paying for here is truly evil

Rachel Corrie (1980-2003), American writer killed in Gaza by a US bulldozer driven by an Israeli soldier as she was protecting a Palestinian home from demolition

PICTURE ABOVE: Rachel Corrie

V WHY DO THEY DO IT?

US CONGRESSIONAL GENUFLECTION TO AIPAC AND THE ISRAEL LOBBY

America first, Israel second. This was the response of Adham Najdi, a 20-year-old cluster bomb victim and political science major from the southern Lebanese village of Srifa, when asked who was to blame for his injuries. This sentiment was expressed frequently in interviews with civilians across the south in the weeks after the war. One common line of reasoning goes:

'The people in our village are not terrorists. For us the terrorists are the Israelis who bomb our children and our families and destroy our homes. We think the Americans support the state terrorism of Israel because they supply the weapons for Israel to destroy our country. Why does America give their weapons to Israel to use them as they like against us. Can you explain to me why do they do it?

Another question:

My friends and relatives did not deserve to die like this. We are not political.

There is no militia in our family. We have lived here for generations. When your weapons destroyed our home, there were no fighters in our area. Israel bombed anything they liked without reason. It was as though they wanted to destroy all of Lebanon because they could not find the resistance forces. Why does America do this? There must be some Americans who understand who the real terrorists are. Why, I ask you, why do they do it?

Similarly, many Lebanese ask why the United States continues to fund the expropriation of Palestinian land to their south; why does the U.S. Congress support Israel's illegal occupation of Gaza and the West Bank? How could it be that the lives of Lebanese and Palestinian children are so much less important than their counterparts in Israel? In the words of one women who lost two children at Qana, Look at, shake hands with, talk with, and hold the first Lebanese or Palestinian or Arab or Muslim child you meet. Are they less precious? Are they less chosen by God?'

These legitimate questions deserve honest answers. It is our U.S. Congress that votes to approve the disbursement of more than $15 million a day of American taxpayer money, two-thirds of which is earmarked for the purchase of 83 percent of Israel's arsenal. So, Why Do They Do It?

The primary reason is, as former US presidential candidate Pat Buchanan stated during the 2004 Presidential campaign, Congress, like Palestine, is Israeli-occupied territory, pure and simple. Members function as an A-men chorus for everything Israel does against its neighbors in the Middle East, and the American taxpayers pay for it in many ways.

What Buchanan refers to is the influence that the more than sixty-five organizations regularly exercise over members of Congress to benefit Israel, often to the detriment of the constituents and communities that these members represent. Called the Israel lobby and led by the 125,000-member American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), whose annual budget exceeds $55 million, this lobby—through campaign contributions and other incentives largely dictates how Congress votes on every legislative initiative affecting Israel.

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE GROUPS WHO COMPRISE THE ISRAEL LOBBY?

The Israel lobby is much more than AIPAC which primarily focuses on Congress and campaign contributions and funding from Jewish PACs and individuals to those politicians it considers to be deserving. A very important part of the Lobby are the biggest Jewish organizations, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Congress, the extreme right wing Zionist Organization of America, which currently is extremely influential in Washington.

All of these organizations form part of the Council of Presidents of Major Jewish American Organizations, whose current president is Mortimer Zuckerman, owner of the NY Daily News and US News and World Report. Its job is to lobby the President.

In hundreds of communities across America, at the grass-roots level there are hundreds of local Jewish federations and councils that cultivate the support of city councilors and supervisors and select the more promising among them to run for Congress, assured that they will be solid votes for Israel.

While not officially part of the lobby, the AFL-CIO has been one of its most solid cornerstones. It has provided millions of dollars for pro-Israel Democrats; it has blocked all international efforts to punish Israel for its exploitation and abuse of Palestinian workers, and it has encouraged its member unions to invest millions of dollars of their pension funds in State of Israel Bonds, thereby linking their members' retirement to the health of the Israeli economy. According to Lobby specialist Jeffrey Blankfort, the lobby has cemented ties with the Christian evangelical right, which gives it clout in states where there are few Jews and access to hundreds of thousands of new donors to Israel's cause.

WHY THEY DON'T THINK THEY'RE CORRUPT POLITICAL OR PRINCIPLED?

«Knowing that to cross the Lobby is perilous, Congressmen from both parties squirm and become uneasy when pressured by AIPAC to 'protect Israel,' even if it means yet another unwinnable war for the United States. The neocons

know full well that if a war with Iran were to be started either inadvertently or by design, few within America>s political system would be brave enough to stand up in opposition»
Tuft's University Professor, Gary Leupp

Many members of Congress are ordinary people elected for their views on a narrow range of mostly local issues. When they get to office, they often have little experience in international diplomacy and foreign policy. These individuals include Roy Blunt (R-MO), Lane Evans (D-Il), Phil (foreign policy is not my thing) English (R.-PA), Frank LoBiondo, and Jim Ramstad. These Members like their job, realize it's the best job they will likely ever have, and basically yield to politics above principle. Retired Congress members have described this phenomenon, and how there exists the compulsion of averting eyes from the effects betrayal has on America's standing in the world and how active members consider it a small price to pay for their job security and generous pension of more than $100,000 per year, even for serving just one term.

These members of Congress often arrive on Capitol Hill fearing that if they do not carry out the demands of AIPAC and the Israel lobby, their campaign funds will dry-up and a well-financed opponent will challenge their seat. M. J. Rosenberg, who worked for AIPAC as Director of Congressional Relations for fours years in the early 80's explains why:

I worked on Capitol Hill for almost 20 years and, basically, criticizing AIPAC or defying it on some resolution is a sure way to get a staffer in serious trouble. I don't think they can defeat a member of Congress, not even in New York, but for staffers, reporters, people like me who work for Jewish organizations, they will try to get you fired or definitely block your chances for advancement. They issue threats and they definitely believe that they are more important than members of Congress.

On December 3, 2006, former US Senator James Abourezk shared some of his views:
I can tell you from personal experience that, at least in the Congress, the support Israel has in that body is based completely on political fear—fear of defeat by

anyone who does not do what Israel wants done. I can also tell you that very few members of Congress—at least when I served there—have any affection for Israel or for its Lobby. What they have is contempt, but it is silenced by fear of being found out exactly how they feel. I've heard too many cloakroom conversations in which members of the Senate will voice their bitter feelings about how they're pushed around by the Lobby to think otherwise. In private one hears the dislike of Israel and the tactics of the Lobby, but not one of them is willing to risk the Lobby's animosity by making their feelings public.

Abourezk continues, The Lobby is quite clear in its efforts to suppress any congressional dissent from the policy of complete support for Israel which might hurt annual appropriations. Even one voice is attacked, as I was, on grounds that if Congress is completely silent on the issue, the press will have no one to quote, which effectively silences the press as well. Any journalists or editors who step out of line are quickly brought under control by well organized economic pressure against the newspaper caught sinning.

THEY GOVERN BY FAITH, NOT FACTS

Some members—some willingly, some reluctantly—yield their vote to AIPAC and the Israel lobby because they believe that biblical prophecy, rather than foreign diplomacy, dictates what will happen in the Middle East. As fundamentalist evangelical Christians, they believe they should arm Israel, as a means of hastening armageddon, the apocalypse, the rapture, and the final Judgment Day; the stance has earned them the moniker fundamentalist Christian jihadists. This group, which includes Tom Delay (R.-Tx) and Indiana Republican Mark (I am most defined by the fact that I am an Evangelical Christian) Souder, appear, from their public statements, voting records and websites to welcome the brutal occupation and the growing global tension that the United States> arming of Israel is causing. Their reasoning is, quite simply, that if there is regional destruction from, for example, another Middle East conflict, say in Lebanon or Iran, or even a nuclear exchange, it can be said that God willed it in order to usher in the return of Jesus Christ and Judgment Day.

Several of these Members, who march in lock-step with AIPAC and the Israel

Lobby, ironically don't like Jews anymore than they do Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims or progressive Christians. They are secure in their faith that, at Rapture, Jews will either convert to Christianity, be saved, and go to heaven, or burn in eternal hellfire. Either way seems to work for them. They look myopically at the bottom line. Many AIPAC-aligned members of congress are bean counters. They take an accountant's view of voting day and exchange their vote on Middle East issues, which they believe have little impact on their district and constituents, for Israel lobby support on transit, education, and health-care initiatives that are closer to home and which provide more campaign cash from local Political Action Committees.

According to a staff member of Congressman Tom Lantos (D-A) members, from states such as New York, New Jersey, Florida, Pennsylvania, and California, depending on their district, might have reviewed the following political reality and mused to themselves:
Jewish voters care a lot about Israel. In my district about seventy percent of them normally vote. My district does not seem to care about the Middle East or giving US cluster bombs to Israel, and I don't either. The Arab/Palestinian/Muslim or human rights lobby is not very strong in my district. My bright campaign aid has availed him or herself of a free grass roots election seminar offered by one of AIPAC's Capitol Hill-–based entities, the Advanced Advocacy Mission or Political Leadership Development Program, and briefed our office on some electoral realty, among them:

American Jewish voters make up only two percent of potential voters. But around 70 percent of them vote. As Hamilton Jordan advised his boss, President Jimmy Carter, back in June 1977, out of 125 members of the Democratic National Finance Council, more than 80 are Jewish. In 1976, more than sixty percent of the large donors to the Democratic Party were Jewish. In presidential campaign, the same statistics hold: Over seventy percent of the monies raised by Nixon in 1972 were from Jewish contributors. Over seventy-five percent of the monies raised in Humphrey's 1968 campaign were from Jewish contributors. The same approximate percentage had been maintained in the presidential elections during the past quarter-century. In 2004, seventy-five percent of American Jews voted for Kerrey.

According to the *Washington Post*, Democratic presidential candidates depend on Jewish supporters to supply as much as seventy percent of the money. *Mother Jones* magazine recently noted that of the leading contributors to the 2000 and 2004 elections, seven of the first ten were Jewish, as were twelve of the top twenty, and 125 of the top 250. Much of the cash was arranged by AIPAC. Examples of this group of Bean Counters include Steny Hoyer (D.-Md.), Kenneth Lucas (D.-KY), Donald Manzullo (R.-Il), Christopher Shays (R.-CN) and Thomas Reynolds (R- NY). As recently as September 2006, Hoyer was referred to by one of his staffers as so pro-AIPAC he might as well be on the AIPAC payroll.

One iron willed member of this group is Rep. Jane Harman (D-A). She, along with Lantos is totally committed to Israel. Lantos has visited Israel sixty-three times and has been appointed by the government there to represent the Jewish state in countries with which it has no diplomatic relations and where he would be allowed. Both Harman and Lantos have been given tough assignments by Israel, including trying to get Jonathon Pollard, the convicted Israeli spy, released and attacking the US government's case against AIPAC staffers and lobbyists Keith Weissman and Steve Rosen. Reports from Capitol Hill indicate Harman promised to get the federal government to go lighter on Weismann and Rosen in exchange for Israel's support for the Intelligence Committee spot" according to the *New York Times*, Weissman and Rosen are awaiting trial on espionage charges involving passing stolen classified Pentagon documents to Israeli intelligence agents.

As one of Israel's most devoted agents, the Israel lobby got her appointed to the House Intelligence committee. They expected Harman to be named Chairman following the November 7 elections and Democratic Party take over of Congress. However, Harman and Pelosi have had a series of clashes and Pelosi, as the new Speaker of the House, refused to make Harman chairman. AIPAC was not happy about the Harman/Pelosi because they rely on both.

Moreover, Harman herself may be in trouble with the FBI. Time magazine reported in its October 20, 2006, issue that FBI and Justice Department prosecutors are examining whether Harman and AIPAC violated the law in an Israeli scheme to get Harman reappointed as the top Democrat on the House Intelligence committee, which would give her access to much intelligence of interest to Israel.

Federal investigators want to know if allegations that agents of Israel pressured House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi, herself an anti-Arab AIPAC insider (The AIPAC website quotes Pelosi: The special relationship between the United States and Israel is as strong as it is because of AIPAC's fidelity to that partnership), Israel has long been able to place its agents in powerful Congressional positions. But the Federal government is apparently learning more from its Rosen/ Weismann/ AIPAC case than it anticipated. The case is expected to be heard in US Federal Court in early 2007.

Speaker of the House and AIPAC insider, Nancy Pelosi (D-Ca)

As AIPAC loyalists, these members expect and receive plenty of perks from the Israel Lobby. For example, between July 2005 and July 2006, the American Israel Education Foundation (AIEF), AIPAC's nonprofit/tax deductible entity, spent $583,131 on travel, sponsoring 62 trips to Israel for members, their relatives, and staff. This amounted to one-third of all congressional travel worldwide. The Israel lobby pays about $8,000 per person for a one-week trip. Some of the regulars on these free trips are the most anti-Arab, anti-Muslim in Congress, including Rep. Shelley Berkley (D- NY), who flew in the weekend of August 20-23 for a meeting with government officials during the Israel/Lebanon crisis. Berkley reassured the Israelis, according to the *Jerusalem Post*, that they (Israel) would get more US.cluster bombs and that the $8 billion Israel was forced by terrorists to spend on Lebanon would be replaced by Congress.

New York democrats Jerry Nadler and Anthony Weiner, two flagrant *Arab bashers* took a trip together funded by the Jewish Community Relations Council ($6,480 each), whose purpose was a fact-finding mission re: Israel defending itself against Hezbollah. It is not clear what facts they found. Both Weiner and Nadler will support more funds and weapons for Israel when the measure comes before Congress, just as they will support a US attack on Iran and Syria if given the chance.

These members in the AIPAC loyalists group are quick to use the unwelcome smear of anti-Semite to silence critics of Israel's misuse of American weapons or those who dare to mention the Israel lobby and AIPAC's nefarious activities on the Hill and across America. Both have accused former President Carter of being an anti-Semite, because of his recent book, Palestine: Peace not Apartheid, despite the fact that Carter brokered the Camp David accord which gave Israel nearly thirty years of peace with Egypt.

In point of fact, all Americans owe a debt to former President Jimmy Carter for speaking long hidden but vital truths. His excellent book breaks the taboo barring criticism in the United States of Israel's discriminatory treatment of Palestinians. Our Congresses' tacit acceptance of the Zionists' brutal policies causes global hostility against us. Israel's friends have attacked Carter, a Nobel laureate who has worked tirelessly for Middle East peace, even raising the specter of anti-Semitism.

Genuine anti-Semitism is abhorrent. But exploiting the term to quash legitimate criticism of another system of racial oppression, and to tarnish a principled man, is indefensible. Criticizing Israeli government policies-a staple in Israeli newspapers-is no more anti-Semitic than criticizing the Bush administration is anti-American.

The word apartheid typically evokes images of former South Africa, but it also refers to any institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over another. Carter applies the term only to Israel's rule of the occupied Palestinian territories, where it has established more than 200 Jewish-only settlements and a network of roads and other services to support them. These settlements violate international law and the rights of Palestinian property owners.

Carter maintains that greed for land, not racism, fuels Israel's settlement drive. He is only partially right. Israel is seizing land and water from Palestinians for Jews. Resources are being transferred, under the guns of military occupation, from one disempowered group-Palestinian Christians and Muslims - to another, preferred group-Jews. That is racism, pure and simple.

Moreover, there is abundant evidence that Israel discriminates against Palestinians elsewhere. The Israeli Arabs-about 1.4 million Palestinian Christian and Muslim citizens who live in Israel-vote in elections. But they are a subordinated and marginalized minority. The Star of David on Israel's flag symbolically tells Palestinian citizens: You do not belong. Israel's Law of Return grants rights of automatic citizenship to Jews anywhere in the world, while those rights are denied to 750,000 Palestinian refugees who were forced or fled in fear from their homes in 1948. Israel's Basic Law of Human Dignity and Liberty establishes the state as a Jewish democracy although twenty-four percent of the population is non-Jewish.

Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, counted twenty laws that explicitly privilege Jews over non-Jews.

As Professor George Bisharat at the University of California Hastings Law School has pointed out, the Zionist government favors Jews over Palestinians in the allocation of resources. Palestinian children in Israel attend "separate and unequal" schools that receive a fraction of the funding awarded to Jewish schools, according to Human Rights Watch. Many Palestinian villages, some predating the establishment of a Zionist state, are unrecognized by the government, do not appear on maps, and thus receive no running water, electricity, or access roads.

Since 1948, scores of new communities have been founded for Jews, but none for Palestinians, causing them severe residential overcrowding. Anti-Arab bigotry is rarely condemned in Israeli public discourse, in which Palestinians are routinely construed as a demographic threat. Palestinians in Israel's soccer league have played to chants of Death to Arabs! Israeli academic Daniel Bar-Tal studied 124 Israeli school texts, finding that they commonly depicted Arabs as inferior, backward, violent, and immoral. A 2006 survey revealed that two-thirds of Israeli Jews would refuse to live in a building with an Arab, nearly half would

not allow a Palestinian in their home, and 40 percent want the government to encourage emigration by Palestinian citizens. Last March, Israeli voters awarded 11 parliamentary seats to the Israel Beitenu Party, which advocates drawing Israel's borders to exclude 500,000 of its current Palestinian citizens.

Some say that Palestinian citizens in Israel enjoy better circumstances than those in surrounding Arab countries. Ironically, white South Africans made identical claims to defend their version of apartheid, as is made clear in books such as Antjie Krog's *Country of My Skull*. Americans are awakening to the costs of our unconditional support of Israel. We urgently need frank debate to chart policies that honor our values, advance our interests, and promote a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

It is telling that it took a former president, immune from electoral pressures, to show the way. The debate should now be extended. Are Zionism's founding ideals truly consistent with democracy? Can a state established in a multiethnic milieu be simultaneously Jewish and democratic? Isn't strife the predictable yield of preserving the dominance of Jews in Israel over a native Palestinian population? Does our unconditional aid merely enable Israel to continue abusing Palestinian rights with impunity, deepening regional hostilities and distancing peace? Isn't it time that Israel lived by rules observed in any democracy--including equal rights for all? President Carter is courageous, correct and warrants a fair hearing on the facts as he sees them.

Another member of this group, Eliot Engel (D-NY) accused two authors of a recent study on the Israel lobby, John Mearsheimer and Steve Walt, of being anti-Semites, and proclaimed their study the same old anti-Semite and anti-Zionist drivel. Alan Dershowitz, an advisor to some Members of Congress as well as AIPAC is a familiar pro-Israel hack and has stopped using the anti-Semite charge as often as he used to, according to his critics because he is aware it is growing old and losing some of its sting. Dershowitz began using other preposterous calumny, such as accusing Mearsheimer and Walt of getting their material from neo-Nazi hate groups. The charge is absurd but the manic Dershowitz is on alert to verbally assault who dares criticize Israel with his pre-packaged eruptions of hysterical invective. Recent example includes Dershowitz personal and hateful attacks against Noam Chomsky, Norman Finkelstein and former President Carter among many others.

Both Dershowitz and the Israeli Government have a long history of trying to tie critics of Israel to Hitler. In 1982 Israeli PM Begin wrote President Regan that he felt the invasion of Lebanon and bombing of Beirut was like he was attacking Berlin to topple Hitler (Arafat as Hitler). Sharon used it again in 1989 in Washington during a meeting at the State Department where is stated that Arafat is the same kind of enemy as Hitler. For the last several years and especially during the July War the Israeli government has focused on Hasan Nasrallah as Hitler. Currently the Lobby is targeting Iranian President Mamoud Ahmadineajad as Hitler. One AIPAC staffer, when asked about this, opined that it's a more useful image for common people to understand than anti-Semite, since some American voters may realize that 90% of Semites are in fact Arabs!

AIPAC advises Hill staffers to explain to their constituents that Israelis are very much like Americans. Advise the media and your constituents that Israel seems like us, one AIPAC staffer explained. Some members who just don't like foreigners and give their vote to AIPAC because Israel seems more like us...my boss is one of them a staff member of Rep. Virgil Goode, (R-VA) stated on December 22, 2006. Goode, a virulent Muslim and Arab basher, told his constituents in a letter December 9,2006 I fear that in the next century we will have many more Muslims in the United States if we do not adopt the strict immigrations policies that I believe are necessary to preserve the values and beliefs traditional to the United States of America and to prevent our resources from being swamped. Goode often claims that Muslims, like Blacks get on welfare and don't work. The fact is that Muslims in America and elsewhere are the very least likely group to seek or accept welfare benefits. Their culture and history is one of hard work and caring for their families.

Another example is Colorado TomTancredo who believes the United States should build walls along its borders, launch a massive deportation of immigrant workers, and wage yet another United States war, this time based on the "Clash of Civilizations, between Christians and non-Christians, primarily Muslims. In December, 2006 Tancredo, in declining a speaking engagement in Miami, refered to Miami as 'a third world country. He supports Israel's Apartheid Wall as former President Carter and many observers call the Israeli security barrier, close to 88 percent of which runs inside the 1967 green line deep into Palestinian territory. One of his staffer's claims that Tancredo has actually been looking over the 25-

foot-high sections of Israel's wall to see if it would keep foreigners out of the United States. Members like Tancredo obsess over the cult of multiculturalism, Islam, Mexicans, and non-Christians generally. Tancredo doesn't have much use for Jews, either, but since Israel is repressing Arabs and tends to look more like us as he has stated to constituents, Tancredo gives AIPAC his vote on all weapons requests for Israel. Tancredo supports the invasion of Iraq and has often stated his support for AIPAC's push for regime change by invading or bombing Iran.

Some members are self-confessed Zionists. These members are simply ardent Zionists and are committed to the realization of Eretz Israel (Greater Israel, the notion of a larger Israel that spreads out across the Middle East) based on their desire that Jews live in Palestine. Some Hill observers, including the Council for the National Interest, would argue that the Christian Zionists are even more powerful than the Jewish Zionists. Christian Zionists, such as John Hagee flooded the While House with more than 100,000 emails defending the 2002 brutal offensive by Israel to reconquer the West Bank. Bush told Sharon to withdraw and he was ignored by Sharon. Israel credits fundamentalist Christian organizations like the Christian Coalition with forcing Bush to back down.

I'm grateful for all the wonderful Christian angels wanting to help us, Gershon Solomon, told the *Los Angeles Times* in June 2006. Gershon is the spokesman for Jerusalem's Temple Institute, the group that wants to level the Muslim Holy Shrine; the Dome of the Rock, to build a Jewish temple he claims was destroyed by the Romans in A.D. 70. He added, Christians are now Israel's best lobbyists in the United States...when the Second Temple is built, Islam is over. What are the beliefs of the Christian Zionists in Congress (such as Delay and Souder)?

- A literalist or hermeneutic interpretation of the books of the Bible
- The belief that Jews are God's chosen people
- A belief that paradise for Christians can only be achieved once Jews are in control of the Holy Land
- The certainty that Jews have a God-given and God-enforced (with American weapons) right to the land of the Middle East
- That Jerusalem is their exclusive capital
- The Jewish temple must be rebuilt at all costs before the Messiah will return
- Arabs and Muslims are the enemies of God and his chosen people

The world is going to be ending quite soon now in the great battle of armageddon but Christians who support Israel will escape. Other fundamentalist Christians believe the Jews will convert to Christianity, at the sound of the buzzer so to speak, and will go to heaven with Jesus and avoid eternal damnation and hellfire.

Many Christian Zionists are inspired by Bill McCartney, a former University of Colorado football coach and cofounder of the evangelical Promise Keepers movement. They espouse the Road to Jerusalem program, which encourages Jews to convert to Christianity. According to McCartney, speaking in Denver, Colorado recently, Our whole purpose is to hasten the end times. If giving arms to Israel helps, great! For all I care they can Nuke the Arabs. The Bible says Jews will be brought to jealousy when they see Christians and Jewish believers together as one—Jews will want to be a part of that. That's going to signal Jesus to return...Jews and others who don't accept Jesus, are toast.

Politically, in the United States Christian Zionism is gathering strength and forming alliances that are giving an increasingly extremist shape to American policy toward the Middle East. A recent poll commissioned by the Washington, D.C.-based Council for the National Interest (CNI) shows that thirty-one percent of Americans randomly surveyed in the national poll strongly believe or somewhat believe in the ideas behind Christian Zionism.

Other recent polls reveal similar views, such as fifty-three percent of Americans believe that Israel was given by God to the Jews and that fifty-nine percent of the American public believe the prophecies contained in the Book of Revelations will come true (CNN/Time). According to Christians United for Israel (CUFI), an AIPAC endorsed group, Americans increasingly believe that God sets foreign policy goals. As CNI has pointed out, the irony of the alliance between Christian Zionists and Jewish Zionists is that the one ideology promotes the ultimate destruction of the other....Christians United for Israel is all about Israel, not about the Israelis and only a little surface digging into Christian Zionism shows how anti-Semitic it really is.

The Israel Lobby pays lip service to these rather simple-minded groups in order to promote the continued occupation of Palestine, to dehumanize the original

Muslim and Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land and to claim that Jews, have superior rights even though those who arrived from Europe have no claim to Palestine.

Still other members of Congress have been called ultra Zionist because they add the element of racism. These members such as Anthony Weiner, Eliot Cohen, Gary Ackerman, Jerrold Nadler, Eliot Engel, Eric Cantor, Robert Wexler, Jane Harman, Nancy Pelosi, and Tom Lantos (CA) as well as Illeana Ros-Lehtinen (FL) among others have extreme negative, often hateful, views towards Arabs and Muslims. The new Speaker of the House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) is widely viewed as motivated in her genuflections to AIPAC by simple anti-Arab racism. Peloisi and the above listed Members voted in December of 2006 for the most extremist one-sided collective punishment legislation ever passed by the US Congress. H.R. 4681 included panoply of economic and diplomatic sanctions against the Palestinians for electing a Hamas majority in the Palestinian Legislative Council. The above members filled the legislation with the AIPAC wish list to punish Palestinians as a whole. As the legislation was passed on December 8, 2006, Anthony Weiner (D-NY), reiterated his constant demand that the US close the PLO Mission to the UN and then attacked former President Jimmy Carter's new book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid.*

On December 22, 2006, one day before this racist legislation would have lapsed; President George W. Bush signed it into law. H.R. 4681 thus became the most anti-Muslim, anti-Arab legislation to become law in the entire history of the United States. It further isolates America from the rest of the World as well as the principles on which America was founded These members often argue that Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims are a demographic threat to Israel-to Israel's well being-if given the right to vote. These members vote for every arms request including sending more cluster bombs to Israel and often seek to increase the amount of arms the White House wants to send. These members want to gain land for Israel without the pain of added demography-of adding additional Palestinians or goyim to Israel. Their quest is for more territory for Israel devoid of Muslim or Christian Arab population continuing the old fasle and racist assertation of a land without a people dichotomy, the first one being the public-relations myth used in Israel's founding years that Israel was a land without a people when, in fact, there were many hundreds of thousands of Palestinians living there, on their own

ancestral land, while the new Israelis came into Palestine from lands often far away—eastern and western Europe, for example.

These members belong to the group who in the period leading up to the establishment of the state of Israel in Palestine were willing to buy out Palestinians with US taxpayer cash to give the land to Jews. But when they learned the Palestinians could not be bought out they favored pushing them out of their historic homeland with American weapons if necessary. They privately favor mass expulsion of the Palestinians but given that this solution is still seen at too unsavory, they are working with AIPAC and the Israeli government to pressure Palestinians in any way they can into giving up and leaving.

AIPAC AS THE FOUNTAINHEAD OF ANTI-PALESTINIAN, ANTI-ARAB AND ANTI-MUSLIM LEGISLATION

Over the past two decades AIPAC has organized, drafted, and lobbied for virtually all of the many pro-Israel anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab, and anti-Muslim congressional initiatives. Among them are the following:

- H. Res. 1143 sponsored by Rep. Weiner (NY) bans all US assistance to Palestinians
- HR 604 also by Weiner seeks to halt visas to citizens of Saudi Arabia
- H.Res. 575 sponsored by Rep. Cantor (VA) which forbids Hamas from seeking representation in the Palestinian legislature
- H. Res. 438 calls on the UN to stop criticism of Israel's occupation of Palestine
- H.Con. Res. 144 condemns attacks on US citizens by Palestinians but is mute on Israel's killing of Americans including Rachael Corrie and IDF shootings of western journalists and humanitarian volunteers helping the Palestinian population
- H. Res. 54 by Ros-Lehtinen conflates criticism of Israel at the UN with anti-Semitism
- H. Res. 392 Solidarity with Israel resolution by Tom Delay (TX) makes no mention of the brutal occupation of Palestinian land and the humanitarian crisis it causes
- Tom Lantos' (CA) frequent harassment of the UN and calls for an

investigation of UNWRA for possible assistance to terrorists.

- Eliot Engels' (NY) demand that the US to reexamine its relationship with Saudi Arabia based on their actions against our interests
- Illeana Ros-Lehtinens' regular one-sided condemnations of Palestinian terrorism while excusing Israel's brutal human rights abuses
- H.R. 167 calls for recognition by the US of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel thus prejudging in Israel's favor a key issue to be negotiated between Palestinians and Israelis
- H.Res 56 commends the Palestinian people for the January 9, 2005 presidential election while omitting mention of Israel's occupation
- HR 2036 by Wiener (NY) attempts to have the US unrecognize the PLO
- H.R. 2730 which calls a US-Israel energy development agency Galilee and Negev to resettle more than 60,000 of the 350,000 illegal settlers in the West Bank. The cost to the US would be millions if not billions
- H. Con Res 149 recognizes the anniversary of the creation of Israel, but fails to recognize the destruction of Palestinian society that it entailed
- H. Res 279 condemns the British Association of University Teachers for boycotting Israeli universities that maintain campuses on illegal settlements and stifle their professors' right to speak against Israel's human rights abuses;
- H.R. 4681, which passed the House on May 23, 2006, takes almost everything but the oxygen from the Palestinian people. This extremist legislation restricts humanitarian aid, prohibits official Palestinian diplomacy in the US; targets the UN for supporting Palestinian human rights, and denies the Palestinians the ability to receive assistance through international financial institutions.

AIPAC HAS ALSO LED THE WAY WITH CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AGAINST IRAN, SYRIA AND LEBANON.

- Iran Freedom Support Act of 2006
- House resolution condemning Iran's violation of the NPT agreement (H.Con.Res.341) - February 16, 2006
- Senate resolution condemning Iran's violation of the NPT agreement

(S.Con.Res.78) - January 27, 2006

- Senate resolution condemning statements by the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (S.Res.337) - December 16, 2005
- Iran Nonproliferation Amendments Act of 2005 (S.1713) - November 22, 2005
- House resolution condemning Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad>s threats against Israel (H.Res.523) - October 28, 2005
- Senate resolution calling on the President to condemn the October 26, 2005 anti-Israel statements by Iranian President (S.Res.292) - October, 27, 2005
- Senate resolution condemning the Iranian nuclear program (S.Con. Res.81) - July 22, 2004
- Senate letter to the President highlighting Iran's nuclear program - June 3, 2004
- House letter to the President highlighting Iran's nuclear program - June 3, 2004
- Resolution expressing Congress' concern over Iran>s nuclear weapons development (H.Con.Res.398) - May 6, 2004
- ILSA Extension Act of 2001
- Iran Nonproliferation Act of 2000
- Iran Missile Proliferation Sanctions Act of 1997
- Executive Order 13059 - Prohibiting Transactions With Respect to Iran - August 19, 1997
- Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996
- Executive Order 12959 - Prohibiting Transactions With Respect to Iran - May 6, 1995

SYRIA/LEBANON

- Senate letter urging the President to place Hizballah's al-Manar on terrorist list - July 29, 2005
- Senate resolution urging the EU to designate Hizballah a terrorist group (S.Res.82) - March 15, 2005
- House resolution urging the EU to to designate Hizballah a terrorist group (H.Res.101) - March 14, 2005

- House resolution commending Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon (H.Con. Res.331) - May 25, 2000
- Senate resolution commending Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon (S.Con.Res.116) - May 23, 2000

JERUSALEM

- Congress Strengthens its Recognition of Jerusalem as Israel>s Capital in Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 2003 - September 30, 2003
- House resolution commemorating 30th anniversary of reunification Jerusalem (H.Con.Res.60) - June 10, 1997
- Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995
- House Resolution Expressing support for Jerusalem as Israel's capital (H.Con.Res.290) - April 24, 1990

When Israel started its carpet bombing of Lebanon on July 12, 2006, most members of the US congress nearly tripped over each other, such was their haste to go on record backing Israel's actions. Nine resolutions were quickly introduced in the House and Senate.

Three of the nine resolutions were passed. The first two were both introduced on July 18, less than a week after Israel began bombarding the civilian population of Lebanon. H.Res. 921, introduced in the House by Rep. John Boehner (R-OH) with two co-sponsors, and S.Res. 534, introduced in the Senate by Sen. Bill Frist (R-TN) with 61 co-sponsors, both supported Israel's right to defend itself and condemned Hezbollah, Syria, Iran and Hamas for good measure. Neither version even hints of criticism of Israel—although, almost as an aside, S.Res. 534 urges all sides to protect innocent civilian life and infrastructure. H.Res. 921 sanctimoniously recognizes Israel's commitment to minimizing civilian loss and welcomes Israel's extraordinary efforts to prevent civilian casualties.

A third resolution, S.Res. 548, which was introduced and passed on August 3, showed some balance. Introduced by Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-CT), with Sens. Lincoln Chafee (R-RI), Russ Feingold (D-WI), Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), Carl Levin (D-MI), Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) and John Sununu (R-NH) as co-sponsors, it calls on

the U.S. and the international community to take actions to stop the fighting, ensure the safe return of the captured Israeli soldiers, replace Hezbollah forces with the Lebanese army, and establish an international military force in southern Lebanon. While it, too, follows AIPACs instruction to emphasize that Israel has a right to defend itself, it also and calls on the U.S. to remain engaged in promoting peace in the Middle East. It also says that Syria and Iran should stop providing weapons and support to Hezbollah and try to use their influence to get Hezbollah to disarm.

The Congressional Israel lobby also regularly writes letters to President Bush promoting Israel's interests. Reps. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) and Eliot Engel (D-NY), joined by 113 other representatives, wrote to President George W. Bush urging him to impose the full range of sanctions on Syria called for in the 2003 Syria Accountability Act. In addition, Reps. Elton Gallegly (R-CA) and Robert Wexler (D-FL) and 207 other representatives wrote to European Union (EU) foreign policy head Javier Solana urging that the EU designate Hezbollah a terrorist organization. In the Senate, Sens. Bill Nelson (D-FL) and Gordon Smith (R-OR) were joined by 86 other senators in sending a similar letter to Solana.

One example of the tactics AIPAC employs was reported in April 2006 by a staffer in the office of Congresswoman Betty McCollum (D.-MN) McCollum's staff director was told by an AIPAC representative that McCollum was to be supporting orders and not supporting terrorism! for which she would pay. AIPAC demanded her vote to strangle the Palestinian authority by voting for H.R. 4681 earlier that month, which mandated the cutting off of aid to the Palestinian Authority because Hamas won the election. This H.R. is perhaps the most extremist anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab, and anti-Muslim measure ever to pass the House, which even the Bush White House opposed.

To her great credit, and in sharp contrast to many of her weak-kneed colleagues, McCollum banned AIPAC from her office until the committee apologized for its jackboot smear tactics. Her constituents are no doubt proud of her stalwart independence, despite the possibly dire consequences as all Americans should be. McCollum is a profile in American courage.

Another recent effort by AIPAC is the June 2006 effort to generate anti-

Muslim sentiment in the U.S. by having Congressman Crowley (D-NY) introduce a Resolution accusing the Palestinian Authority of discrimination and harassment against Christians. AIPAC claims on its website that the bill addresses the systematic destruction of the Palestinian Christian community by the Palestinian Authority.

Among the co-sponsors are Ros-Lehtinen, Berkley, Pence, Souder and Tancredo. The bill levels, wild, absurd and totally unsubstantiated accusations against the Palestinian Authority including the desecration of Christian holy sites and the forced submission to Islamic law. The bill also charges the arbitrary imprisonment of Palestinian Christians.

The facts are to the contrary. The financial vice president of Bethlehem University, stated that be believes there is a conscious Israeli policy of getting rid of the Christian minority, whose discomfiture is more politically embarrassing for Israel than Muslim distress. Holy week 2006 has been particularly difficult for Palestinian Christians. According to Professors at Bethlehem University many faculty were frustrated by government refusal to permit supervised student trips to the Sea of Galilee and Jerusalem. Throughout the West Bank, Christians were denied travel permits to march in Jerusalem's Palm Sunday procession.

Interestingly, Crowley was sent a letter from Open Bethlehem, a peace organization in Palestine. The letter notes that Crowley's legislation was drafted without consultations with Christians living under Israeli occupation and grossly misleads the Congress as to the real threat that faces our community.

The letter continues: Between the years 2000 and 2004, 357 Christian families (10% of the Christian population) emigrated from Bethlehem alone. Indeed, this massive emigration threatens the existence of the indigenous Christian community, which has been safeguarding sacred Christian traditions since the time of Jesus. This flight is primarily a result of the fear generated by repeated Israeli military incursions, and has been exacerbated by the economic devastation of Bethlehem due to the Israel closure imposed on the city.

Perhaps the Israeli barrier is most emblematic of the shared fate of both Muslim and Christian Palestinians. The Bethlehem barrier, winding in and around our

city, consists mainly of twenty-five foot high slabs of concrete, sniper towers, and remote-controlled infantry positions. It is build on privately-owned Palestinian land, resulting in the loss of most of Bethlehem's fertile and economically prosperous agriculture lands and many of our major landmarks. It has also severed our city from Jerusalem, a city with which we have historically enjoyed interdependent kinship, trade, and social relations. Equally, if not more important, the barrier fragments this single, indivisible Christian diocese, threatening the Christian communities of both cities.

The Open Bethlehem Committee then invites the Congress to visit and see for themselves what is going on. According to AIPAC, such a visit is Not likely to happen. Mr. Afif Safieh, the Head of the PLO Mission to Washington was clear in his reaction which expressed the views of many Congressional staffers:

> The world knows who is persecuting the Christians of the Holy Land. The persecution of Christian started with the Israeli ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians in 1948 in places such Haifa, Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, and West Jerusalem. The world knows who is building the wall of shame, the Apartheid Wall mutilating East Jerusalem, disconnecting its neighborhoods and trespassing on church property and who is caging in the city of the Nativity-Bethlehem-with a 25ft high wall suffocating the society and strangulating the economy. The world knows is building frenetically the illegal settlements on stolen land: Gilo on confiscated land from the Christian city of Beit Jala, Har Homa on confiscated and from the Christian city of Beit Sahour .

Members of Congress who consistently justify congressional support and arms to Israel, without real examination of its effects on American national interests, share two characteristics. First, they are ill-informed about such basic subjects as how Palestinians were disposed from their land, homes, culture and, to some extent, their identity. They know little about Lebanon and Israel's aggression against it. The second characteristic is that this group of Congressional members, almost in lock-step, justify supporting and arming Israel because Israel is a democracy, the only one in the Middle East., as Steny Hoyer(D-MD), the New Democratic Majority Leader in the House, regularly explains to more than 20 Israeli lobby groups he addresses each year. While you'll never hear it on Capitol Hill, Israel is not only less of a democracy than either Lebanon or Turkey, it is also much

less of a democracy than Palestine. The 5.3 million Palestinians (half of those who live between the Jordan and the Mediterranean) under Israel's domination are not full beneficiaries of the rule of law, freedom of expression, civic freedoms and a fair and just legal system, to say nothing of basic rights to such as education, water, and housing. Only Jews receive the full benefits of Democracy in Israel.

This notion of a democratic state is incompatible with living under a brutal military regime. Democracy means everyone enjoys freedom and rights n equal measure. This is not the reality in Israel, for Arabs, for foreign workers, or anyone who is not Jewish. Social services, housing, jobs, infrastructure repairs, access to education are all skewed to favor Jewish areas such as West Jerusalem and Tel Aviv to the detriment of Arab areas like Nazareth.

As former President Jimmy Carter, in discussions of this book, *Palestine: Peace Not apartheid*, noted "a system of apartheid in Palestine with two peoples occupying the same land but completely separated form each other, with Israelis totally dominant and suppressing violence by depriving Palestinians of their basic human rights. This is a policy now being followed of prescribing permanent second-class status for the Palestinians. Carter quotes a prominent Israeli who stated, I am afraid that we are moving toward a government like that of South Africa, with a dual society of Jewish rulers and Arab subjects with few rights of citizenship".

IS THE ISRAEL SYSTEM APARTHEID?

The term «apartheid» is of Dutch-Afrikaans origin and translates literally as «apartness.» Apartheid was a system of racial segregation enforced in South Africa from 1948 to 1994 to provide a legal framework for perpetual economic, political, and social dominance by people of European descent over the indigenous population. The creation of bantustans, tribal reserves for the indigenous Black inhabitants of South Africa and South-West Africa, was an integral part of the apartheid's racial segregation policies. The White minority in South Africa considered the 10 bantustans as «homelands» -- nominally sovereign nations -- for the Black majority. In point of fact they operated more like the Indian reservations in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The South African government tried to make apartheid to be a relatively

benign system. In practice however, it was a brutal regime in which a minority employed the full resources of the state including foreign aid it received to control, dominate, and oppress the majority.

ISRAELI APARTHEID POLICY IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

In Palestine Peace Not Apartheid, former President Carter portrays the dramatic expansion of Israeli settlements over the last three decades, together with the road system and utilities built to support them. Outside East Jerusalem, there were some 7,000 settlers in the Occupied Territory in 1977. Today, 260,000 settlers live in the West Bank along with 2.5 million Palestinians. Exact figures are difficult to obtain, but it would appear that the more than 200 Israeli settlements on the West Bank occupy less than 10% of the land. But because their footprint does not reflect land set aside for security barriers, roads, and utilities, the settlements control more than 40% of the land.

This settlement process has regularly deprived Palestinians of basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to life and liberty of person, the right to work, and the right to freedom of movement. Palestinians are prohibited from using or even crossing many of the key roads connecting the settlements with each other and with Israel itself. And dozens of Israeli checkpoints are in place on roads the Palestinians can use, inhibiting vehicular and pedestrian traffic

In mid-November 2006, Betsel'm, an Israeli human rights organization published official governmental information that documented widespread land theft by Israel. The data showed that Palestinians privately owned 39% of the land held by Israeli settlements in the West Bank, including large blocs Israel planned to keep in any future peace agreement. Nevertheless, settlement construction has continued in the West Bank. In early September 2006, the Housing Ministry issued tenders for the construction of 690 new housing units in the West Bank.

In late December 2006, Israel announced plans to construct a Jewish settlement at Maskiot, the first new settlement in the West Bank in ten years. While Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was visiting Israel in mid-January 2007,

the Ministry of Construction and Housing, issued a tender for the construction of forty-four new housing units in the settlement city of Ma'aleh Adumim.

Construction of the so-called security fence, what Carter terms the «imprisonment wall,» accentuates the impact of new and expanded settlements in the West Bank. The fence weaves in and out, sometimes following the pre-1967 boundary, more often not. Largely built on Palestinian land, it separates Palestinians from Palestinians, dividing and compartmentalizing them. Javier Solana, the European Union foreign policy chief, said he was «shocked» when he visited Israel in late January 2007 and saw the extent to which the combination of Jewish settlement and security fence construction was cutting into land Palestinians wanted and needed for a two-state solution. He urged the Israelis to freeze West Bank settlements and stop construction of the security fence.

ISRAELI APARTHEID AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

In 1973, the UN General Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. In Article III, it defined the «crime of apartheid» as applying to «inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group over another racial group and systematically oppressing them.» Observers like Dershowitz, who in his article "Ex-President for Sale", claimed, without any proof, that Carter had been bought by the Arabs, argues that Israel's system is not Apartheid because Palestinians are not black and hence there is no racism by Israel. This view is nonsense. Whether ethnic-based, or race-based, it shares an important characteristic with the South African model. Both have their genesis in the desire by the minority to control land occupied by the majority. To achieve this result, the Israelis have imposed a legal framework on the Palestinians in the West Bank that ensures perpetual economic, political, and social dominance

However, racism is very much an issue in Israel. Consider the public statements of Avigdor Lieberman, the most recent member of Ehud Olmert's governing coalition. Lieberman's most provocative plan calls for dividing Arabs and Jews into two homogenous states, a policy Arab Israeli critics describe as racist. When Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice hastened to meet with Lieberman

during her mid-January 2007 visit to Israel, a Haaretz editorial entitled «Down with Racism» commented: «Rice's meeting with Lieberman was like giving a stamp of approval to the racist policies he and his party have adopted.»

About the same time, a clandestine videotape appearing on Israeli television showed a Jewish settler in Hebron confronting, cursing, and spitting on an Arab neighbor. In a mid-January 2007 op-ed in the Jerusalem Post, Yosef (Tommy) Lapid, a former deputy prime minister and justice minister under Ariel Sharon, expressed the thinking of many Israelis: «there is no reason or justification for the thuggery of the kind demonstrated time after time by the residents of the Jewish settlement in Hebron toward their Arab neighbors.» While the video was news, the behavior it captured was not new. Visitors to Palestine have seen this kind of behavior by Israelis for nearly 40 years.

Article 7 of the 2002 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court lists apartheid as one of several «crimes against humanity.» In so doing, it sheds new light on the Israeli case. The crime of apartheid is defined as inhumane acts such as torture, imprisonment, or the persecution of an identifiable group on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, or other grounds «committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime.» When the emphasis shifts to an identifiable national, ethnic or cultural group, as opposed to a racial group, Israeli policy in the West Bank clearly constitutes a form of apartheid with an effect on the Palestinian people much the same as apartheid had on the non-White population in South Africa. As one example, Shulamit Aloni, a former education minister under Yitzhak Rabin, in early January 2007 published an article, «Yes, There is Apartheid in Israel,» in which she candidly acknowledged «the government of Israel practices a brutal form of Apartheid in the territory it occupies. Its army has turned every Palestinian village and town into a fenced-in or blocked-in detention camp".

Some critics go further in applying the term apartheid beyond the occupied territories. UCLA professor Saree Makdisi, in a mid-December op-ed in the San Francisco Chronicle, criticized Carter's book because the author limited his discussion of apartheid to the West Bank. Makdisi argued the concept of

apartheid was equally applicable to Jewish and non-Jewish citizens within Israel itself. On that score, the Arab Center for Alternative Planning in mid-January 2007 revealed the results of a recent poll that showed that per capita Gross Domestic Product in the Israeli Jewish sector was three times that of the Israeli Arab sector.

Unquestionably, Israeli policy in the West Bank is a form of apartheid in intent and implementation. Ethnic-based, as opposed to race-based, it shares an important characteristic with the South African model. Both have their genesis in the desire by the minority to control land occupied by the majority. To achieve this result, the Israelis have imposed a legal framework on the Palestinians in the West Bank that ensures perpetual economic, political, and social dominance.

Guarded optimism surrounds the proposed resurrection of stalled Mideast peace talks with members of the international quartet, the European Union, UN, United States, and Russia. Negotiators propose to leapfrog the moribund road map and move the parties toward direct negotiations aimed at a final resolution of the conflict. In so doing, the Bush administration talks of increasing Palestinian confidence in a two-state solution, thereby elevating those Palestinians who advocate such a solution and undermining those who reject a permanent peace. To progress toward this result, the first step must be to separate myth from reality. The West Bank has become a place of bantustans, isolated cantons, that divide and constrict, often illegally, historic Arab lands. If not dismantled, Jewish settlements and the security fence under construction collectively will doom any chance for a durable peace based on a two-state solution between Israel and the Palestinians.

THE 110th CONGRESS

The new 110th Congress which resulted from the November 7, 2006 election may be the most pro-Israel in American history.

The new Congress doesn't just feature more Zionist Jews in powerful positions than has ever been the case, it also features more pro Israel Members across the board.

A net positive is how one pro-Israel activist described it.

Without question, the Republican-led US House of Representatives, in power from 1995 until 2006, was overwhelmingly pro-Israel. But with Democratic wins in both houses, the 110th Congress removes from power several maverick Republicans who wanted the United States to be more critical of Israel, and boosts to leadership lawmakers who are not just Israel-friendly but intimately acquainted with the US Jewish community. That's partly because some of the top leaders are from the Jewish community.

Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA), one of Israel's staunchest defenders in the House of Representatives, assumes control of the very important International Relations Committee. His deputy is Rep. Howard Berman (D-CA) is also Jewish. Lantos replaces Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Il), who was often critical of Israeli settlement policy, particular its effects on Palestinian Christians. Hyde was retiring in any case, and moving into the top Republican spot on the committee is Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), whose pro-Israel record is unmatched. Israel now owns the House International Relations committee, one member of Lantos staff explained at a recent reception for new Jewish members of Congress.

Four of the committee's seven subcommittee chairmen are also pro-zionist.

- In line for chairmanship of the Middle East subcommittee is Rep. Gary Ackerman (D-NY);
- Rep. Brad Sherman (D-CA) is set to head the International Terrorism and Nonproliferation subcommittee;
- Rep. Eliot Engel (D-NY) is ready to helm the Western Hemisphere subcommittee, which deals in part with terrorist and Islamist incursions in the Americas; and
- Rep. Robert Wexler (D-FL) is set to take over Europe and Emerging Threats, which deals with anti-Semitism on that continent:

Other Jewish members guiding House committees include:

- Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass), who will deal with banking laws in the Financial Services Committee;
- Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA), likely to assume a high profile heading the Government Reform Committee as he investigates the Bush administration's handling of the Iraq war, the 2005 hurricanes and rising energy costs.

Gary Ackerman, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, is already displaying his disregard for the Peace Movement, Arab Americans, and Muslim Americans, generally anyone who favors a fair debate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

On February 14, 2007 when Ackerman's Subcommittee hosted a stacked and biased witness list to discuss the subject, "Next steps in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Those invited as experts were David Makovsky, Director of the Project on the Middle East Peace Process at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP), Martin S. Indyk, Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, and the infamous Daniel Pipes, Director of the Middle East Forum. The latter is widely viewed as a modern-day McCarthy with his close ties to Campus Watch and its classroom monitoring work.

Makovsky defends the illegal separation barrier Israel is building in the West Bank when he testified on the Hill in 2004 alongside his WINEP colleague, Amb. Dennis Ross. Indyk recently hosted Israel>s leading racist, Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Avigdor Lieberman, who was a featured speaker at a Saban conference in Washington, DC and did much in this instance to bolster Lieberman as a legitimate politician.

The biased list rounded up by Ackerman comes at a time when debate is opening up on Israel-Palestine in the rest of the nation thanks to the work of Professors John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt as well as the efforts of President Jimmy Carter.

Congress ought not to be the last place to have meaningful discussions about Israel and Palestine but the bottom line is that the Democrats continue to follow the Israel lobby/AIPAC line and to ignore the growing Peace Movement on both Iraq and on ending the Israeli occupation.

Perhaps the most prominent pro-Israel boost is of Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD), who becomes majority leader. Hoyer is on a first-name basis with much of the board

of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, who promoted him for the spot. Hoyer has been to Israel multiple times and is in charge of organizing trips to Israel for all new members of Congress, their families, and staff members. Hoyer has broad knowledge of Israel's plans to continue its occupation of Palestine and is pledged to increase US military aid to insure that Israel can continue to dictate to the region.

His immediate predecessor, Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio), now the minority leader, is friendly to Israel but not as well acquainted with the intricacies of Middle East politics, according to AIPAC, meaning that he is not a definite for everything Israel is going to ask for.

Lawmakers considered less friendly to Israel are also set to head committees, but none that deal directly with the Jewish state. They include Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich) at Energy and Commerce; Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich) at Judiciary and Rep. Nick Rahall (D-W.Va) at Resources.

Rep. David Obey (D-Wis), who will head the powerful Appropriations Committee, is in the friendly but critical category, backing assistance to Israel but diverging sharply on its settlement policy. Obey once proposed linking assistance to changes in that policy. He will be watched closely by AIPAC which believes that with the burgeoning deficit and major Iraq war funding battles in the offing, Obey is not likely to have much time to deal with Israel. He'll leave that to Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY), who will chair the Foreign Operations subcommittee. Lowey, who began her political career leading Jewish groups, is quite friendly to Israel and has voted for or co-sponsored virtually every anti-Arab, anti-Muslim and anti-Palestinian Congressional initiative on the House side.

Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), the new House speaker, has elevated a number of Jewish members to powerful committees. Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL) joins Appropriations after just two years in the House, as does Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA). They join Lowey and Rep. Steven Rothman (D-NJ) on the committee.

Jews now number 30 in the House — a net increase of four from the last Congress.

Other significant new committee appointments include Reps. Shelley Berkley (D-Nev) and Allyson Schwartz (D-PA) to the Ways and Means Committee, which deals with taxes; and Rep. Gabrielle Giffords (D-Ariz.), who marks her freshman term by joining the sensitive Armed Services Committee.

There are a record 13 Jews in the Senate, including 11 who are Democrats or caucus with Democrats — 20 percent of the Democratic presence.
Jews in chairmanship positions include:

- Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich) at Armed Services
- Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA) at Environment
- Sen. Joe Lieberman (I-CN) at Homeland Security
- Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis) at Aging
- Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) at Rules
- Sen. Charles Schumer (D-NY) at Economics

The most significant change for Israel, however, is at the Foreign Relations Committee. Gone is Sen. Lincoln Chafee (R-RI), who as chairman of its subcommittee was perhaps the toughest congressional critic of Israel's settlement policy. His replacement is Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass), who is eyeing another bid for the presidency in 2008 and is unlikely to deviate from his record of solid support for Israel.
Similarly, Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del), the committee's chair, is also on the presidential track and shows no sign of changing his pro-Israel views. He replaces Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind), who was circumspect about Israel but allowed the committee considerable leeway in questioning Israeli policies.

Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.), who will head the Appropriations Committee, is also a tough Israel critic but, like his House counterpart Obey, AIPAC expects Byrd will be preoccupied by the deficit and Iraq, and thus is unlikely to initiate changes in Israel funding. He takes over from Sen. Thad Cochran (R-Miss.), who had a solid pro-Israel record.

Missed by Israel will be Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY), who headed the Foreign Operations subcommittee. His determination was key to the last-minute passage in 2006 of the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act, which isolates the Hamas-led Palestinian Authority.

Both Houses have Jews in the top political position of caucus chair — Schumer in the Senate and Rep. Rahm Emanuel (D-Il) in the House.

Democrats in the 110th Congress have moved quickly to toughen up Congressional ethics rules. But as Former US Senator James Abourezk has commented, truly groundbreaking reform was prevented, in part, because of the efforts of the pro-Israel lobby to preserve one of its most critical functions: taking members of Congress on free «educational» trips to Israel.

Pro-Israel groups worked vigorously to ensure that the new reforms would allow them to keep hosting members of Congress on trips to Israel. According to the Jewish Daily Forward newspaper, congressional filings show Israel as the top foreign destination for privately sponsored trips. Nearly 10 percent of overseas congressional trips taken between 2000 and 2005 were to Israel. Most are paid for by the American Israel Education Foundation, a sister organization of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the major pro-Israel lobby group.

As mentioned above, every member of Congress and every would-be candidate for Congress comes to quickly understand a basic lesson. Money needed to run for office can come with great ease from supporters of Israel, provided that the candidate makes certain promises, in writing, to vote favorably on issues considered important to Israel. What drives much of congressional support for Israel is fear - fear that the pro-Israel lobby will either withhold campaign contributions or give money to one's opponent.

As former Senator Abourezk has written in Counterpunch, arguably the America's best political newsletter:
"Pro-Israel groups worked vigorously to ensure that the new reforms would allow them to keep hosting members of Congress on trips to Israel. According to the Jewish Daily Forward newspaper, congressional filings show Israel as the top foreign destination for privately sponsored trips. Nearly 10 percent of overseas congressional trips taken between 2000 and 2005 were to Israel. Most are paid for by the American Israel Education Foundation, a sister organization of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the major pro-Israel lobby group.

New rules require all trips to be pre-approved by the House Ethics Committee, but Rep. Barney Frank (D) of Massachusetts says this setup will guarantee that tours of Israel continue. Ron Kampeas of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported consensus among Jewish groups that «the new legislation would be an inconvenience, but wouldn>t seriously hamper the trips to Israel that are considered a critical component of congressional support for Israel.»

These trips are defended as «educational.» In reality, as I know from my many colleagues in the House and Senate who participated in them, they offer Israeli propagandists an opportunity to expose members of Congress to only their side of the story. The Israeli narrative of how the nation was created, and Israeli justifications for its brutal policies omit important truths about the Israeli takeover and occupation of the Palestinian territories.

What the pro-Israel lobby reaps for its investment in these tours is congressional support for Israeli desires. For years, Israel has relied on billions of dollars in US taxpayer money. Shutting off this government funding would seriously impair Israel>s harsh occupation.

Most members of Congress have no acceptable explanations either for the long litany of Israel's crimes with American weapons or why they consistently put Israel's interests before America's. However, their success to date has precluded a serious Congressional examination of America's involvement with Israel and of Israel's use of American weapons against Lebanon, Palestine, and the Middle East. That debate is finally being called for by President Carter, Paul Findley, Pete McClosky, Eugene Bird, Alison Weir, Ron David, Noam Chomsky, Mearsheimer and Walt and more and more other Americans.

THE 2008 US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

As candidates enter the 2008 race for the White House they begin courting Israel lobby support and ignore US Arab and Muslim voters.

As the race for their party's Presidential nomination candidates are seeking the support of the US Israel lobby and nearly stumbling over one another to make promises to Israel's agents.

Between now the 2008 election, AIPAC and the Congressional Israel lobby will pressure the candidates to make the most outrageous pro-Israel, anti-Muslim and anti-Arabs statements in order to get Jewish support.

Another Presidential campaign ritual is lining up Jewish support, and this year is no different. Some candidates are acting immediately:
This month, U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) plucked Jay Zeidman, President Bush's popular Jewish outreach official, to lead his Jewish campaign.: For the past two years, Ann Lewis a fixture in the Israel lobby, and prominent in Jewish causes since she served as the Clinton administration's deputy communications director, has been sounding out Jewish support for Clinton's wife, Hillary. When she rean for the Senate, New York voters heard all all about Clinton's Jewish step-grandfather this time around. That's because she won't need to grab at Jewish straws after six years of support for Jewish causes those activists across the spectrum say is stellar.

Clinton's 2000 run for the Senate was damaged by a 1999 incident in which she sat by and said nothing as Suha Arafat, Yasser Arafat's wife, accused Israel of deliberately poisoning children. Clinton and Suha Arafat embraced after the speech.

Clinton later claimed the interpreter skipped over the poisoning allegation, but she set about atoning for the gaffe. In addition to the revelation about her step-granddad, she told two different Jewish audiences within weeks of Suhagate that Jerusalem was Israel's indivisible capital.

She won solidly that year, but with less-than-enthusiastic Jewish support. By 2006, however, Jewish support for Clinton was overwhelming and spanned the religious spectrum. Much of the money she has raised — some analysts expect her to bring in $500 million by election time — has come from Jewish donors.

Pro-Israel lobbyists say Clinton's voting record on issues related to funding for Israel and isolating its enemies, including Palestinians, Muslims and Arabs and particularly Iran and Syria, has been excellent and she has visited Israel multiple times since becoming a senator. Her supporters say one area where Clinton has

strengthened Jewish support might offer a clue to how she plans to overcome overwhelming conservative opposition to her candidacy, a residue of the 1990s culture wars: She seeks imaginative legislative solutions to get funding to Jewish parochial institutions while not violating church-state divisions.

Clinton wasted little time in mid-February, 2007 taking her cue card one of AIPAC's favorite attacks on Palestinians. Clinton condemned new Palestinian Authority textbooks and joined with Palestinian Media Watch to criticize the books, which Clinton claims encourages high school students to see Israel as an enemy and a violator of human rights.

According to the anti-Arab and anti-Muslim Palestinian Media Watch, the books describe the United States and the West as human rights violators who have forced "a clash of civilizations" onto the Arab world, barely mentioning US-driven peace initiatives or the fact that the United States has given the Palestinian Authority some $1.5 billion in aid over the past ten years (while giving Israel more than $60 billion during the same period).

According to Clinton the founding of Israel is described as a "catastrophe that is unprecedented in Arab history."

Clinton said she was dismayed by the textbooks, which were published by members of the relatively moderate Fatah party.
"Ever since we first raised this issue some years ago, there still has not been an adequate repudiation of this incitement by the Palestinian Authority. It's even more disturbing to know that this problem appears to have gotten worse. These textbooks don't give Palestinian children an education, they give them indoctrination." This sort of nonsense will be spoken by Presidential candidates throughout the Presidential campaign statement will be carefully monitored by the Israel lobby to make sure they are in line with Israel's interests. This sort of pandering will continue.

512 ... That is why we stand with Israel because it is a beacon of democracy in the region; that is why we stand with Israel because its very existence is a defiant affront to anti-Semitism; that is why we stand with Israel because in defeating terror because Israel's cause is our cause. And that is why we stand with Israel because of our shared values and our shared belief in the dignity of men and women and the right to live without fear or oppression. And what we must do is to think rationally and strategically about how our values, our beliefs can be translated into effective action. It is not enough for us to say the right things; we've got to be smart and tough enough to do the right things that will protect American and Israeli interests now and forever.

AIPAC Conference February 2007

Where the White House aspirants stand on issues of concerns to the Israel lobby.

THE DEMOCRATS

- US Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del.)

As the lead Democratic spokesman on foreign policy — Biden chairs the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee.

Biden repeatedly has suggested that Israel and the United States "blew it" in the summer of 2003 by not sufficiently backing Mahmoud Abbas, who was then the Palestinian Authority prime minister. Abbas eventually quit because P.A. President Yasser Arafat frustrated his efforts to make peace with Israel, but he also accused Israel and the United States of failing to provide concessions that might have helped him confront Arafat.

Pro-Israel advocates say there's a substantial gap between Biden's rhetoric and how he ultimately votes: He has a solid pro-Israel voting record and was a leader of the successful effort last year to pass the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act, which isolates the Palestinian Authority's Hamas leadership as long as it backs terrorism and refuses to recognize Israel.

- US Sen. Barack Obama (D-Ill.)

Much of Obama's current appeal has to do with his vocal opposition to the Iraq war in 2002-03, when he was a state senator in Illinois, at a time when it was not popular to oppose the war.

Arab Americans initially held out hopes that his iconoclasm extended to Israel-Palestinian issues. During the 2004 primaries, Obama said Bush had neglected the region, and in private conversations with Arab-American donors he reportedly said he favored a more "even-handed" US approach between Israel and the Palestinians.

Since then, however, Obama has caved in to AIPAC and the Israel lobby. He has cultivated a solidly pro-Israel record, as well as visiting Israel last year and praising their human rights record. He has developed close ties with Chicago's Jewish community, and some of its major donors backed him among more than a dozen candidates — some Jewish — in the 2004 primaries.

- John Edwards

The appearance by the former Democratic senator from North Carolina at last year's American Israel Public Affairs Committee's policy forum was the first substantial sign that he was considering another run for the White House after he failed in his 2004 bid to win the Democratic primary and then the vice presidency.

The millionaire trial lawyer had previously focused almost exclusively on his "two Americas" theme in combating poverty and advocating for universal health care in his primaries campaign, and Republicans cast him as a lightweight on foreign policy.

He drew loud applause when he endorsed AIPAC's trademark issue: isolating Iran and confronting Hezbollah.
"For years I have argued that the United States has not been doing enough to deal with the growing threat in Iran," he said. "While we've talked about the dangers of

nuclear terrorism, we've largely stood on the sidelines as the problems got worse. I believe that for far too long, we've abdicated our responsibility to deal with the Iranian threat to the Europeans."

Such talk has helped draw major Jewish donors to Edwards' campaign. He raised eyebrows late last year, however, when he named as his campaign director David Bonior, a former Michigan congressman noted for his tough criticism of Israel.

Bonior and Edwards apologized to top pro-Israel donors and assured them that Bonior's role would not extend to foreign policy.

- New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson.

Richardson is a well-known commodity in the Jewish community, dating from his service in the Clinton administration, first as United Nations ambassador and then as energy secretary. The first Hispanic American considered to be a viable candidate for president, Richardson has maintained an international profile even in his role as New Mexico governor; most recently he earned Jewish kudos for negotiating a temporary cease-fire in Darfur, the area of Sudan ravaged by government allied militias. U.S. Jews have led the efforts against the Arab Islamist government.
Others:

- Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio) is probably the toughest critic of Israel among Democratic candidates. Next month he will be a featured speaker at a conference of Sabeel, a pro-Palestinian group, and in recent years he has consistently abstained or voted against pro-Israel measures. Kucinich maintains close ties with some dovish Jewish groups, and at times has challenged his ideological compatriots, once saying he was never convinced that Yasser Arafat gave up on his dream of eliminating Israel.
  Kucinich's candidacy is perhaps the longest shot this year, but he has accrued foreign policy credibility for opposing the Iraq war from the outset.

- US Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.). Another longshot, but with a solid pro-

Israel record. He told an AIPAC audience in Houston in October that he doubted the viability of a Palestinian state in the near future.

- Gov. Tom Vilsack. The former Iowa governor hopes to appeal to voters as a Democrat who won two terms in a solidly Republican state. He is close to the small pro-Israel community in his state and recently visited Israel.

THE REPUBLICANS

- US Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.)

McCain's Jewish strategy mirrors his broader realignment in recent years with Republicans who are loyal to President Bush, leaving behind the bloodletting of the tough 2000 primaries campaign.

In addition to Jay Zeidman, he is counting on an endorsement from the former White House liaison's father, Fred Zeidman, chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and a major fund-raiser for Bush. Another likely endorser is Ned Siegel, who was the named plaintiff in the successful effort to stop the Florida recount, a decision that placed Bush in the White House.

McCain has a solid pro-Israel record, and he has been outspoken about isolating Iran as long as it poses a nuclear threat. He made that call most recently in a satellite address at this week's Herzliya Conference and in October at an American Israel Public Affairs Committee conference.

McCain has toughened his opposition to abortion and gay marriage, positions that place him at odds with most American Jews. Yet he also has forged alliances with domestic Jewish groups on issues such as campaign-finance reform and against torture.

- Rudy Giuliani

The former New York City mayor may be the perfect Republican candidate for Jewish Americans: He's one of Israel's most vocal supporters in the United States

and is unapologetically moderate on social issues like abortion and gay marriage.

Giuliani has been circumspect about his candidacy in recent weeks. He has performed well in polling because of the reputation as "America's mayor" that he earned after the September 11 terrorist attacks, but he's seeking strategies to reconcile his moderation on social issues with the conservative Republican base. Still, he is assembling a formidable campaign team, including Jeff Berkowitz, another former White House liaison to the Jewish community, as research director.

Giuliani had overwhelming Jewish support as New York mayor from 1993 to 2001, once booting Yasser Arafat out of a concert hall: The federal government may need to deal with the once and future terrorist, Giuliani said, but he did not.

Giuliani has visited Israel multiple times, and formed a fast friendship with his Jerusalem counterpart at the time, Ehud Olmert, who is now Israel's prime minister.

Giuliani's closeness to Israel did not end once he left politics. In his final days as mayor, he rejected a $10 million donation from a Saudi prince because the giver blamed the September 11 attacks in part on US support for Israel.

In 2004, delivering the keynote speech at the Republican convention in New York, Giuliani emphatically noted Bush's outspoken support for the Jewish state.

- Gov. Mitt Romney

Romney passed on a bid for a second term as Massachusetts governor to get started on the Republican nomination this year. He wasted no time in making clear his message of solid support for Israel.

That's because however well governors perform on domestic issues — and Romney made significant inroads with the liberal Jewish community in the Boston area — they need to act quickly to establish foreign policy credentials.

Romney was one of four candidates to address the Herzliya Conference in February 2007 but the only one to do so in person. He spoke forcefully about

isolating Iran noting that he refused to provide police protection for its former president, Mohammad Khatami, when he spoke in the Boston area last year.

He also called for the indictment of Iran's current president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, on genocide charges.
"The United States should lead this effort," Romney said. "The full title of the Genocide Convention is the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Remember that word `prevention.' " Ahmadinejad has called repeatedly for the destruction of Israel and has denied the Holocaust.

More practically, Romney also has attracted top Republican Jewish donors, including Mel Sembler, the former ambassador to Rome. Charlie Spies, formerly the counselor to the Republican National Committee, is now the Romney campaign's counsel.

Nancy Kaufman, who directs the Jewish Community Relations Council in the Boston area, said Romney earned community admiration for shepherding universal health care through the legislature and for his solidly pro-Israel credentials.

- US Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.) is a leader on pro-Israel issues, especially relating to Israel's claim to Jerusalem. He also is strongly conservative on social issues like abortion, gay marriage and embryonic stem-cell research, but he has earned respect among some liberal Jewish groups for leading his party in attacking the Arab Islamist government in Sudan.

- Newt Gingrich. The former speaker of the US House of Representatives has a stellar pro-Israel record and was the architect of the 2004 campaign strategy of reaching out to Jewish voters by emphasizing President Bush's pro-Israel record.

THE ISRAEL PARADIGM IN LEBANON AND PALESTINE

Israel's serial incursions into Lebanon, with troops or bombs, and its

brutal occupation of Palestine, have spanned the 1960's to the present. Violations of Lebanon's sovereignty occur nearly daily-numbering more than 10,000 to date.

From an examination of the period under review, certain repetitive elements of Israel's aggressions render Israel's military and political behavior rather predictable. Habitual military thrusts into Lebanon are replicated so similarly that during the 2006 July war the Lebanese Resistance had reliable foreknowledge.

This allowed the Lebanese resistance to correctly anticipate the exact three entry points Israel would use into Lebanon. For example, out of a possible 24 routes Israel could have used into Lebanon, the resistance forces were waiting to ambush the IDF as it arrived at each of the entrances it chose.

Through its hard work, skill, and substantial organization, it is unquestioned that friends of Israel continue to dominate the public narrative relating to its military and political activity in Lebanon, Palestine, and the region generally. While Israel's control of public opinion is noticeably diminishing, it is still dominant.

Some elements of Israel's behavior are so predictable that one could substitute any one of a number of Israel's incursions into Lebanon or attacks in Palestine, and, with minimal adjustment, provide a boilerplate for the next attack.

FORTY YEARS OF THE ISRAELI NARRATIVE PARADIGM: 1967-2007

- Israel always acted in "legitimate self-defense" against "terrorists" in order or to secure peace or apply justifiable accountability or wrath to Galilee, Lebanon south of the Litani, Beirut, the Bekaa, or Lebanon or Palestine generally. This has been the case whether Israel's enemies were one or more of 8 PLO militias during the 1960's and 1970's, one or more of 16 Lebanese National resistance groups during the 1970's and 1980's, or the Shia militia Amal, or currently the Hezbollah led Lebanese resistance forces. Every Lebanese or Palestinian resistance defender is a terrorist and none of them has a right to exercise the internationally recognized right of self-defense or resistance to occupation. That international legal concept is for Israel alone and over the years, has been available exclusively to Israel.

- Israel has consistently and repeatedly used the label of 'Hitler" to demonize its victims and those who resisted its aggressions ever since Israel expelled more than 750,000 Palestinians from their homes and land in 1948. Arafat had a long career as Hitler. Israeli PM Begin told Ronald Reagan, after the IDF has trapped Arafat and the PLO leadership in Beirut during its invasion of Lebanon in June of 1982 that "I felt we were advancing on Berlin and we were pursuing Hitler". Reagan reply was, "Oh, I see".

- In 1989 Sharon was still telling American audiences that "Arafat is no different than Hitler, in fact Arafat is another Hitler"

Other Palestinian resistance groups from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestine Front and a number of others all have been described as being another Hitler. Hamas leaders have been described as Hitler for the past three decades. The anti-Nazi Secretary-General of Hezbollah, Sayed Hasan Nasrallah is also regularly described as Hitler by the Zionist government and its Israel lobby, even though his Islamist views differ from communists, socialists, secularists, Al Qaeda and his views are very far from fascist.

The President of Iran, Mamoud Ahmadinejab has been called Hitler by the Israel government more than a hundred times since his election in 2005.

Ironically, Israel's best friends in Lebanon and the group which it selected in 1982 to control Lebanon's government and who it funded and armed during the 1975-1990 Lebanese Civil War, and allowed to massacre hundred of Palestinians and Lebanese during the September 1982 massacre at Sabra and Satilla was the Kataib or Phalange party. This organization was founded by the late Pierre Gemeyel Sr., an ardent admirer of Hitler who founded the party subsequent to his attendance at the 1936 Nazi showcase Munich Olympics and who studied and admired the politics of the Third Reich and its leader, Adolf Hitler.

- Israel's paradigm has been the same for nearly forty years of bombing

fleeing civilian convoys, ambulances and emergency vehicles. Israel consistently claims that the civilians were hiding terrorists in their vehicles while investigations by the media, Non governmental organizations and various human rights investigative organizations found the victims were murdered civilians and were not combatants.

- During the attacks of 1978, 1982, 1993, 1996, and 2006, as well as more than two dozen additional attacks, Israel repeatedly bombed schools, hospitals, Churches, Mosques and clinics, bridges, airports, roads, communication facilities, civilian homes, arguing that they were shielding terrorists or would be used by terrorists. In virtually every case the truth was not as Israel claimed. For example in 2006, the Lebanese resistance had no need for the highways or bridge system throughout Lebanon because they were not fleeing anywhere but eager to fight Israel on their home turf in South Lebanon. Nonetheless, Israel bombed 137 bridges and all the main roads throughout Lebanon.

- After each attack against Lebanon the US Israel lobby is activated and its agents flood the US Congressional legislative hoppers with one sided resolutions and legislation glorifying and praising Israel's restraint and its concern for the safely and protection of the bombed civilian population. The lobby routinely, now in its third decade, quickly pledges to replace the weapons Israel was forced to use against 'terrorists'.

- Part of Israel's paradigm of aggression against Lebanon and Palestine has for more than forty years been its repetitive excuses and justifications for its large scale killing of civilians. Following its 1978, 1979, 1982, 1993, 1996 and 2006 indiscriminate killings of civilians seeking shelter from Israel's use of American weapons.

For example, in its two bombings at the Biblical village of Qana, in 1996 and 2006 when Israel ignored UN warnings and attacked the same UN observation post in southern Lebanon, Israel's claims were identical. It was a mistake; they did not know civilians were present," terrorists" had been firing nearby, and Israeli forces had used the wrong maps, the targeted ambulances and rescue service vehicles

had 'terrorists' inside, Israeli forces had the wrong 'firing grids', faulty intelligence, outdated command orders, troop fatigue, the 'terrorists' were using human shields, "in war errors happen and it is to be expected and it is unavoidable".

In these cases and more than 161 other incidents during the period under review, Israel's claims were proven to be false. As one UN officials noted, there are two explanations for Israel's pattern of killing. Either they have the most incompetent armed force ever assembled or they simply do not value any non-Jewish life.

Undeterred by the facts, Israel continues with its stale repertory of excuses for slaughtering civilians and for violating Lebanon's sovereignty.

As recently as February 7, 2007, when Israeli forces continued its daily violation of Lebanon's sovereignty, this time on land near Maroun al-Ras, the response was predictable.

Israeli forces who crossed the 'blue line' into Lebanon and fired at the Lebanese army positions did so, according the Israeli Foreign Minister, Tzipi Livni, " as a result of provocation by terrorists and had to be dealt with." That over-used word "terrorist" again.
Israeli claimed on January 7, 2007 that it was "removing landmines".

The Israeli daily Haaretz reported that an Israeli tank fired two rounds at the Lebanese Army - at an outpost and an armored vehicle. One Lebanese Army General asked the Daily Star newspaper in Beirut, "Since when does the Israel army remove landmines it previously planted?"

Israel's narrative paradigm remains in tact. What it does not allow for is any other point of view, including that of the Jimmy Carter, the facilitator of Israel's peace with Egypt who wrote in Jauary of 2007:
«The bottom line is this: Peace will come to Israel and the Middle East only when the Israeli government is willing to comply with international law, with the Roadmap for Peace, with official American policy, with the wishes of a majority of its own citizens--and honor its own previous commitments--by accepting its legal borders.

All Arab neighbors must pledge to honor Israel's right to live in peace under these conditions. The United States is squandering international prestige and goodwill and intensifying global anti-American terrorism by unofficially condoning or abetting the Israeli confiscation and colonization of Palestinian territories. It will be a tragedy--for the Israelis, the Palestinians, and the world--if peace is rejected and a system of oppression, apartheid and sustained violence is permitted to prevail.»

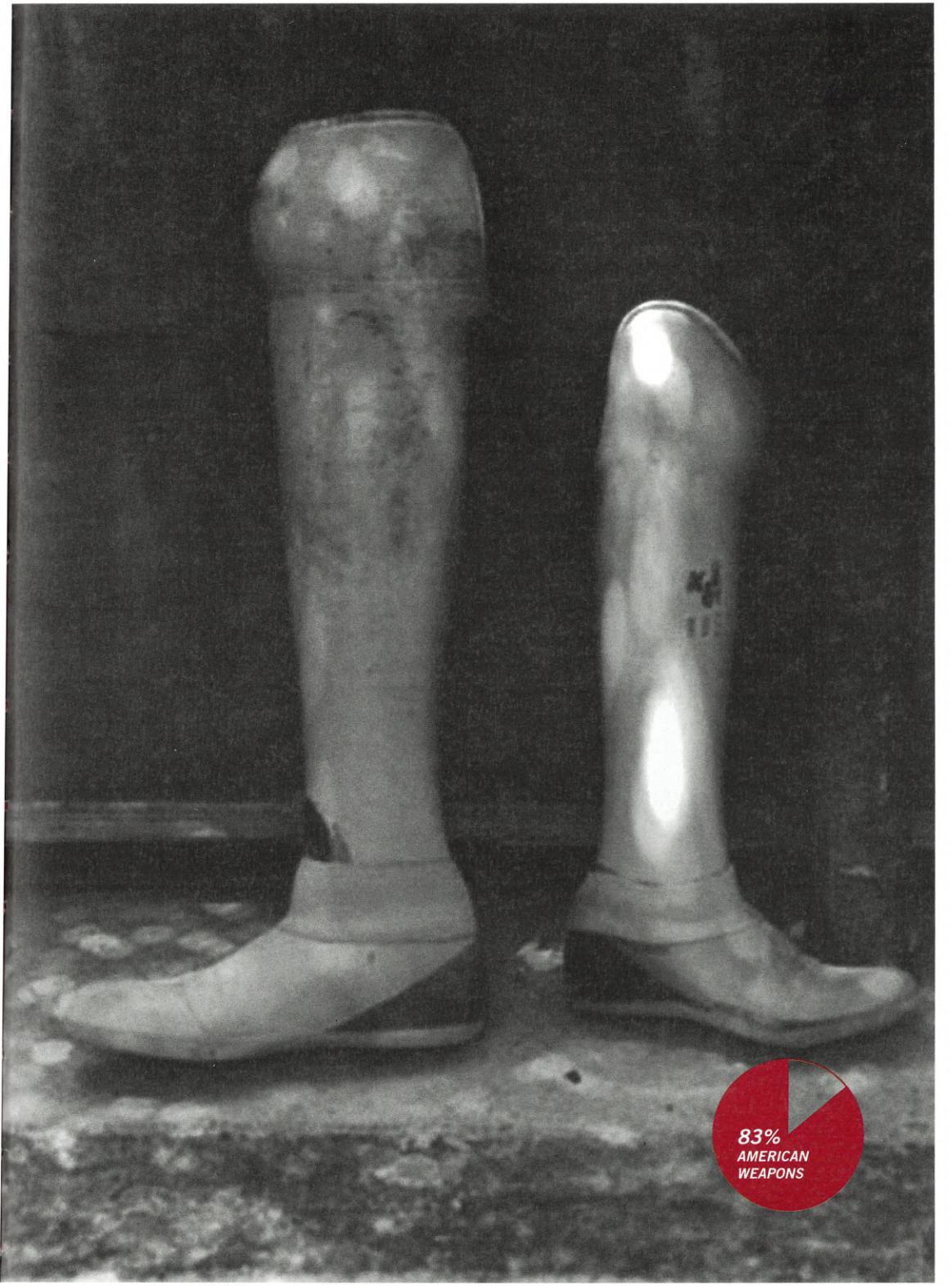
According to University of Georgia Political Scientist Patricia Sullivan, the United States, with far superior military power than its adversaries has with drawn its troops without attaining its primary political objective in 56 percent of the military interventions it initiated since WW II. Failures included Korea in 1953, Laos in 1964 and Lebanon in 1982. Israel's record in Lebanon is far worse. It has invaded or attacked Lebanon in major military campaign 5 times since 1978. Not once, despite its 'shock and awe' has it obtained its objectives, and with the exception of forcing the withdrawal of the PLO in August of 1982 it actions were militarily and politically unsuccessful. Israel's serial attacks on Lebanon, and its 1982 invasion, have led to the creation of the current Lebanese Resistance led by Hezbollah. In two major wars against Hezbollah, Israel lost both times and in addition was driven from its 18 year Security Zone in 2000.

The post WW II demonstrates that brute force can prevail initially but is not a predictor of victory if the invaded population is resolute.

Lebanese citizens celebrating the ending of hostilities and withdrawal of Israeli forces

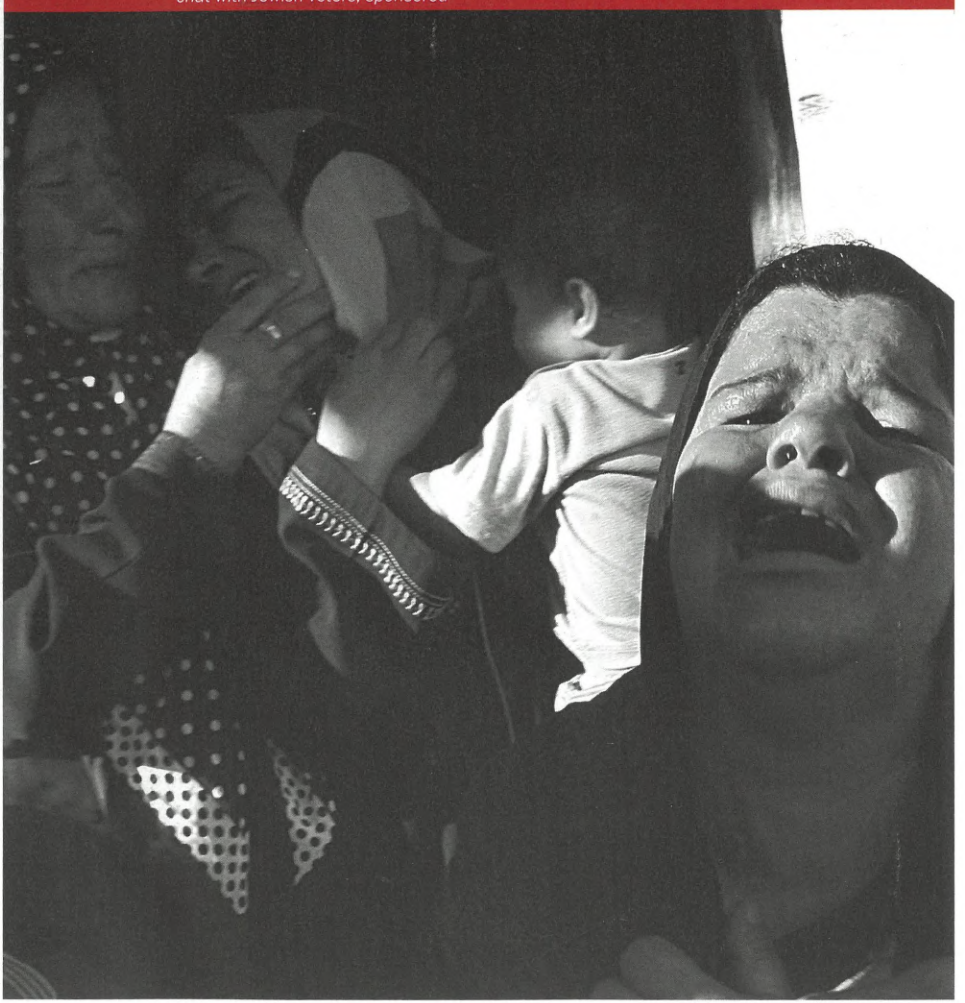
Jihad Al-Bina
which supports this rehabilitation center in Bint Jbeil was placed on the terrorism list of the Bush administration
on February 17, 2006

Photography: fplamb@gmail.com


83%
AMERICAN
WEAPONS

"There will be some Democratic chairmen who may not share all my views or have as clear a perspective on Israel as I do, but they will not be chairing committees dealing with Israel and the Middle East

Source: Rep. Henry Waxman (D-California), a Jewish lawmaker, said in a recent on-line chat with Jewish voters, sponsored



PICTURE ABOVE: RELATIVES OF THE VICTIMS OF THE JULY 2006 OF QUANA MASSACRE

VI CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

During July-August 2006, Israel waged war on the civilian population of Lebanon, killing more than 1,500 and wounding more than 4,000. It destroyed much of Lebanon's infrastructure as established in the Findings of Fact presented above.
The Findings of Fact make plain that Israel is guilty of serial violations of International law. It is guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Israel has flagrantly violated American law which proscribes, by transferees, the use of US weapons against any civilian population or target.

On January 30, 2007 he Bush administration delivered a classified report to Congress on Israel's use of the cluster bombs in civilian areas during the July War. Bush administration officials advised Congress that Israel probably violated the terms of its purchase of US - made cluster bombs contained in a number of agreements noted in this Report US officials were quick to add that unlike 1982 when Israel used the deadly munitions indiscriminately in Lebanon, Israel is unlikely to face repercussions.

528 The report was preliminary, but State Department spokesman Sean McCormack, despite his use of just about every qualifier in the thesaurus, made it clear that Israel probably was on the wrong side of the contract.
«It was the determination based on the facts that we in the preliminary finding — I have to emphasize 'preliminary,' it's not a final judgment — that there may likely could have been some violations of that agreement,» McCormack told reporters.
«This is the area in which we bump up against the fact that these agreements, for a variety of different reasons, very oftentimes it gets into rules of engagement for specific countries and those themselves are usually classified or tightly held by the foreign national government,» he said. «So we do not speak about them in public.»

Israel continues to deny wrongdoing arguing that its actions were more moral than any other country in a similar situation.
«We provided a detailed response to the administration's request for information regarding Israel's efforts to halt Hezbollah's unprovoked rocket attacks against our civilian population centers,» David Siegel, the embassy spokesman, stated to the Jewish Forward newspaper. «Israel suffered heavy casualties in these attacks and acted as any government would.»

US officials echoed Israel's emphasis on its claimed defensive action during its 33-day bombardment of Lebanon.

According to the US State Department, «It's a fact that [Hezbollah] used human shields, that they hid themselves among civilian populations,» he said. «It was one of the aspects of this particular conflict that made it very, very difficult, I think, for the international system to watch, but also for the Israelis, as well. No military commander wants to have to be put in the position of acting in self-defense and going after those people who have committed aggressions against your country but are then hiding among civilian populations.»

Translation: The United States is unlikely to reintroduce a ban on the sale of cluster munitions it imposed for six years after Israel's 1982 war in Lebanon. That was a war Israel initiated; last summer's was a defensive war fought against a militia that specialized in hiding among civilians.

According to the Israel Lobby, the 1982 ban led Israel to manufacture its own cluster weapons. According to Israeli officials, these were more efficient and of better quality than the American ones (even the 35 years out of date CBU-58/B's Israel used even tthough the one Pentagon official said they were 'trash' by this late date and he could not understand why Israel would use 'this garbage') and it was the failure of the American bombs to immediately detonate that has led human rights groups to unfairly blame Israel. Translation: Israel was correct in its actions and the faulty US bombs were to blame.

The US State Departments spokesman McCormack's sympathetic understanding of Israel's excuses for dropping nearly 5 million cluster bombs on Lebanon were shared and AIPAC and its friends in Congress.

A staff member from House Majority Leader's Steny Hoyer's office reported that Congress was not about to get worked up about any Israeli violations. A pro-Israel lobbyist said one possible repercussion is that Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) may reintroduce legislation to make the sale of cluster bombs explicitly conditional on not using them in civilian areas. Feinstein, who is Jewish, said last September that she favored the legislation in part because of the more than 1,000 civilians killed by Israel during its 33 day bombardment of Lebanon.

Israel has legal responsibility for reparations and compensatory damages for all of the destruction it caused in Lebanon during its July-August 2006 rampage. Israel has violated its secret agreements with the United States with respect to restrictions placed on the use of American weapons and the expressed conditions clearly elaborated in the US Arms Export Act, the Foreign Assistance Act, and the 1992 Humanitarian Interference Act.

Israel's destruction of more than 250 villages and damaging more than 400, and countless testimonies from civilians, Muslims, Shia and Sunni, Christians, Druze, Israeli, UN and Lebanese military and many others, indict the Israeli military and its leadership for gross violation of international humanitarian law.

During the last seventy-two hours of the conflict, August 11 - August 14, Israel exhibited no pretense of compliance with International or American

530 law. Rather, what the people of Lebanon experienced during this period was an aggressor engaged in an indiscriminate carpet bombing of its fellow citizens and its infrastructure, using American weapons sometimes at the rate of several each second.

As Israel stands guilty before the International Community its motives for its destruction of Lebanon, while beyond the primary scope of this Report, are relevant.

Press releases generated from Tel Aviv and distributed worldwide in an effort to control the narrative of July-August 2006, offer the following excuses for what Israel, using American weapons, did in Lebanon.

The researchers on this project and the facts uncovered do not credit Israel's defenses presented by numerous spokesmen in the United States, Europe, and around the World. Among Israel's offered defenses:

- Legitimate self-defense
- Preemptive strike to disrupt future attacks
- Legitimate retaliation
- Proportionality
- Discrimination between civilians and combatant
- Adequate warnings to the civilian population
- Targeting error
- Miscommunication
- Accident
- Inaccurate maps
- Extraordinary care to protect civilians
- Battle fatigue
- Failure of the UN to disarm the Lebanese
- Resistance
- Human shields by the Lebanese Resistance
- Failure of the Government of Lebanon to
- Control its territory
- Failure of other countries to stop aiding the
- Lebanese Resistance
- Lack of effective communication between

- Israeli political leaders, military leaders and
- Ground troops
- Not one of these explanations, in the context of Israel's targeting of fleeing humanitarian convoys, the second massacre at Qana, the bombing of hospitals, schools, churches, mosques, UN observers, begin to meet the minimum international legal standards of international customary law, treaties or conventions in force.

Diplomatic and military analysts, international humanitarian organizations working in Lebanon, various journalists and Middle East scholars, UN personnel, and the victims of Israel's use of American weapons themselves have suggested Israel's motives were multifaceted. Frustration with its inability to control and defeat the Lebanese Resistance, anger at Israeli loss of life, yearning for revenge on Lebanon as a country and population for its support for the Resistance, Israel's determination to teach Lebanon a lesson, set it back twenty years, and keep its Israel's forty year old maximum deterrence military paradigm in place. American analysts have suggested that Israel's felt need to draws down its arsenal of US weapons to meet Pentagon guidelines for new order of the latest model weapons may have led Israel to empty its weapons closets during the final seventy-two hours.

All of these explanations fueled by the virulent racism of Zionism appear to have contributed to Israel's breakdown of civilized conduct and fundamental morality turning Lebanon into a killing field and possessing the Israeli military with a killing frenzy. No other explanation is dispositive of Israel's crimes.

The scope of this Report on a Quarter Century of Israel's use of American Weapons in Lebanon is completed with the following recommendations.

$15 MILLION EACH DAY GOES TO ISRAEL

This Congressional largesse is in the amount of $15,139,178 per day, or more than 5.7 billion dollars per year. In addition, over the past five years cash and arms totaling more than $20 Billion has flowed from Washington to Israel, with another $10 Billion in grants and special considerations such as "surplus weapons" and "forgiven loans". Israel constitutes only 0.02% of world's population, and it benefits from one third of America's total aid.

PICTURE ON THE RIGHT: RESIDENTIAL AREA IN DAHIYEH BEIRUT COMPLETLY DESTROYED BY THE ISRAELI BOMBING OF LEBANON IN JULY 2006

Photography: Hussam Hawwa, August 2006

> *A passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other . . .*
>
> *It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting . . . ill-will . . .*
>
> *President George Washington, 1796*

PICTURE ABOVE: 9 CIVILIANS LOST THEIR LIVES AND 58 THEIR HOMES WHEN ISRAEL DROPPED TWO MK-83 L000-LB BOMBS ON THIS BUILDING DURING THE NIGHT JULY 30, 2006 IN SOUTH BEIRUT.

Photography: fplamb@gmail.com

VII RECOMMENDATIONS

1) An immediate freeze on all transfers of US Cluster Munitions to Israel Immediate suspension of cluster bomb shipments to Israel.

The US government should reject any request by Israel for American cluster munitions, including their pending request for M-26 rockets. The license with a value of $ 615,496 for the commercial sale of 1,300 M-26 rockets to Israel in Fiscal Year 2005 must be cancelled. Any pending deliveries should be aborted. Our government has a duty not to assist Israel in replicating what it did in Lebanon with our weapons. How can our protestations of wanting normal relations with the Middle East and Muslims countries be taken seriously when we arm a rogue country whose history is one of attacking its neighbors and killing scores of thousands of innocent civilians with American weapons?

It is incontrovertible that, as a quarter century of Israel's use of American weapons has shown, Israel will not respect either international law or the bi-lateral agreements with the US.

Starting with the village of Blida around 3:00 pm on July 19, 2006 when

536 it dropped hundreds of M-42 bomblets indiscriminately on the civilian population, and continuing until minutes after the cease fire time on August 14, Israel dropped close to 5 million American cluster bombs on Lebanon. By what rationale should we supply them more?

The death of many civilians is inevitable if Israel uses American cluster bombs. It was inevitable in 1973, when it first received large quantities of the CBU-58 series and it remains so today. In using the last of its stockpiles of the 34 year old CBU-58's Israel should receive no more or any type.

During the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and siege of Beirut, President Ronald Regan stopped shipping cluster munitions to Israel because his administration found Israel consistently violated international and American laws and well as its 1952 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the United States. This ban lasted until the 1988 elections. It must now be made permanent.

2) A Call for an International Ban on the manufacture, transfer and use of Cluster Munitions. The UN should take the initiative to promote urgent action to include cluster munitions on the list of weapons banned under international law.

> This is what happens when cluster munitions are used. They get used in populated areas, they get used in ways that violate international humanitarian law, they kill and injure civilians during attacks and after attacks, they kill and injure civilians who stay put in their towns and villages, and they kill and injure civilians when they return home. Old submunitions get used with very high failure rates; new submunitions get used that still have unacceptably high failure rates. This is what happens when cluster munitions are used.
> Steve Goose, Human Rights Watch, August 30, 2006

During the past more than thirty years, cluster munitions have persistently and predictably maimed and killed thousands of innocent people, one-third of them children. It has been the case in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Balkans, Iraq, Afghanistan and Lebanon.

Users of cluster munitions simply cannot discriminate between civilian and military targets because of targeting difficulties and wide area footprints. This factor alone means that cluster munitions cannot comply with the fundamental requirements of International law for proportionality and discrimination between combatants and civilians.

After each conflict since Vietnam, high numbers of unexploded sub munitions left behind in curious shapes and colors made cluster munitions irresistible to children. A child's playful exploration turns into tragic injury or death. A farmers need to work his land results in the loss of life and family livelihood.

Efforts by state suppliers to place bi-lateral end use restrictions have not worked as the most egregious case, U.S. arms to Israel makes plain. For more than a quarter century Israel has consistently ignored international and American law regulating its use of American weapons including cluster munitions.

The US congress continues to turn a blind eye to Israel's violations of US laws and the civilian causalities it causes. Sadly, there is no reason to believe that the U.S. Congress will in the future restrain Israel, until the American voters strongly demand it.

The inadequacy of current international law in controlling the impact of cluster munitions requires a new international agreement which unequivocally prohibits the use, production, stockpiling or transfer of cluster munitions.

The Review Conference examining the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons will be meeting before long in Geneva. It should take up this matter and build on the momentum for the international ban. In 1999 a global treaty banning land mines was agreed to. Now is the time to do the same with equally deadly indiscriminate killers—once and for all.

One legacy of Israel's aggression against Lebanon in 2006 has been more than four million American cluster bombs. Let the second legacy be the termination of any US shipment to Israel pending a total international ban on these inhumane weapons.

538 3) A call for an International Investigation of Israel's use of American weapons against civilian in Lebanon.

Between 1978 and 2006, the IDF authorities have investigated a few incidents, involving conduct by its troops relative to the indiscriminate killings of civilians, the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, the failure to distinguish between military and civilian targets, and the use of American weapons against the civilian population of Lebanon.

The government of Israel has also stated that it is still investigating some of the incidents in the latest outbreak of hostilities during July-August 2006.

Unfortunately, the methods and outcomes of these investigations have never been properly disclosed, and when they are they fall far short of serious investigative standards.

It has become Israel's practice to merely announce an inquiry and a few days later announce again that the inquiry has been completed and that the military actions under review were justified and that they conformed to the highest moral standards as well as all relevant norms of international law.

A typical example is the September 6, 2006 memo from Israel's military judge advocate general to all Israeli diplomatic missions aboard empowering them to rebut allegations that illegal ordnance has been used in the Lebanon war and against Palestinian terrorists.

According to the report, the judge advocate found, that international criticism relating to Israel's use of American cluster bombs, the attacking of civilians and humanitarian and rescue workers, the bombing of UN peacekeepers, the Qana massacre, and the destruction of much of Lebanon was in error. The advisory opinion stated International law does not impose a ban on the use of these cluster bombs or white-phosphorus bombs. According to the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv*, He also noted that 56 other countries including the US and Britain have similar weapons in their arsenals. The advisory opinion seemed to have missed the point that is was how Israel used these weapons that violated international law and US laws as well as US-Israel bi-lateral agreements concerning their use.

This advisory opinion was then forwarded to countless Israel foreign ministry and military spokesmen, to the Israel Lobby, members of Congress as well as the international news media. As it was passed around it was soon described as a legal opinion. Implying that the issue had been adjudicated in Israel's favor. It then became the mantra the narrative. This hoax was designed to assure public opinion that Israel acted with restraint, and took every possible precaution to protect the civilian population and that all of Israel's actions were well within the norms required by international law and civilized conduct.

During the past quarter century of Israel's attacks against the civilian population of Lebanon with American weapons, the responses become boilerplate. It was Israel's adversaries fault, the bombing of civilians was a tragedy, it was an accident, the Israel armed forces had the wrong maps, despite the fact that women and children were sadly killed Israeli intelligence had reliable information that there were no civilians present, there were militia nearby, the Israeli military received inadequate communication from the UN, for example to stop bombing them, that there was a misunderstanding regarding whether the Israel army has given permission for a, subsequently bombed, convoy of refugees or of humanitarian relief workers and supplies to move along a particular route to reach civilians cutoff from basic necessities.

These facile arguments and serious misconceptions have become Israel's world wide response. Given the stakes, it is especially important to cut through these misunderstandings.
For the past quarter century the Israeli military has exercised great care to avoid harming Lebanese civilians.

This was no truer in July-August 2006 than it was in 1978 or since. In Lebanon, research for this report has recorded an appalling number of incidents in which civilians and civilian objects were hit with no apparent military justification: 12 civilians, including nine children, killed in Dweir; at least 16 civilians, including nine children, killed while fleeing Marwahin; nine civilians, including four children, killed in Beflay; as many as 42 civilians, including many children, killed in Srifa; some 60% of nine square blocks of southern Beirut, composed mostly of eight- to 10-story apartment buildings, destroyed; and the tragedy of civilians, many of them children, killed at Qana.

540 The list goes on. With more than 1,250 Lebanese civilians killed in 33 days of bombing, Israel clearly did not meet its international legal obligation to avoid such loss of life.

But Israel should be given more latitude because it is responding to an abusive and aggressive force like Hezbollah which wants to wipe Israel off the face of the earth. Wrong. Even if true, that doesn't change the rules governing Israel. Nor does the question of who started the conflict, or how nefarious an opponent's intentions are. Or that they are considered by Israel to be terrorists.

The obligations to respect international humanitarian law, including to refrain from deliberate or indiscriminate attacks on civilians and to take all feasible precautions against civilian casualties, persist regardless of the conduct of one's opponent. Grave breaches remain war crimes. Otherwise, it would take just one side's charge of abuse, one side's claim to have been the victim of aggression, to return to the era of total war in which all civilians are fair game.

The Israeli military issued repeated warnings asking Lebanese civilians to please evacuate. If any Lebanese are still around, they must be Hezbollah combatants.

This is not the law. To begin with, many Lebanese civilians who wanted to leave could not.

They might be old or infirm, unable to afford exorbitant taxi fares, or terrified at the prospect of becoming one of the many roadside victims of Israeli military attacks.

In any event, while international humanitarian law strongly encourages warnings — the failure to heed one does not create a *free-fire zone*. If it did, Palestinian militant groups might warn all settlers to leave Israeli settlements and then be justified in treating as legitimate targets those who remained.
Hezbollah should bear responsibility for civilian deaths because it mixes its fighters and arms with the civilian population.

This is not the law and there was no compelling evidence that it was a fact in July-August, 2006. International humanitarian law does prohibit the deliberate use of civilians to shield fighters and military assets and it requires all parties to

do everything feasible to station their forces away from civilians. Despite the Israeli military's claims, that doesn't begin to account for the high Lebanese death toll, one-third of them children. In many cases, Lebanese civilians who have survived air strikes on their homes or vehicles have stated that Hezbollah was nowhere nearby when the attack took place.

In any event, even the use of civilian structures alone isn't enough to justify an attack. They become legitimate military targets only if Hezbollah troops or arms are present at the time, and the military value of their destruction outweighs the civilian cost. That was not the case in Lebanon.

But Lebanese civilians deserve what they get because their government tolerated the Hezbollah militia in its midst.

This is not the law. Leaving aside the question of whether the Lebanese government had the capacity to rein in Hezbollah, a government's might become legitimate objects of military attack for what many in the region view as their government's repressive occupation.

Even if it's wrong to deliberately target Lebanese civilians, the Israeli military can certainly squeeze them by targeting their infrastructure.

Absolutely not International humanitarian law permits attacks on infrastructure only if it is making an effective military contribution and the military benefits of its destruction outweigh the civilian costs. That case is difficult, if not impossible, to make for the extensive attacks by Israel on electrical facilities, bridges, fuel stations, churches, mosques, hospitals, schools and roadways throughout Lebanon.

Why do these rules matter? No one enforces them anyway.

This has not been true since World War II. Anyone ordering or committing war crimes should be prosecuted in Israeli courts. If they aren't, they could be pursued by any national court exercising universal jurisdiction or, upon Lebanon's invitation, by the International Criminal Court.

If respect for rules of war is to be taken seriously, a proper

542 investigation of the Israeli bombing of Lebanon's civilian population and the destruction of Lebanon's infrastructure in the recent conflict is imperative.

Americans Concerned for Middle East Peace calls for the immediate establishment of a comprehensive, independent and impartial inquiry into violations of international humanitarian law by Israel in the conflict. The inquiry should examine in particular the impact of this conflict on the civilian population. It should propose effective measures to hold accountable those responsible for crimes under international law, and to ensure that the victims receive full and adequate compensation and reparation.

Americans Concerned for Middle East Peace is circulating an International Petition among human rights organizations and the general public asking the UN Security Council and the UN Human Rights Council to request the UN Secretary General to establish a panel of independent experts to conduct this inquiry.

The panel should include experts with proven expertise in investigating compliance with international humanitarian and human rights law, in military matters, as well as in forensics and ballistics. The experts should receive all necessary assistance and resources. The outcome of the inquiry should be made public and include recommendations aimed at ending and preventing further violations.

4) The international community should support the scientific research currently being done in Lebanon and abroad on the effects of certain weapons used during the Z Have Indiscriminate Effects and to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction.

5) The UN Secretary General should undertake an evaluation of the humanitarian assistance provided in Lebanon as a result of the July War with a view to enhancing the right to immediate and unlimited access to humanitarian assistance for civilians without interference from parties to the conflict.

6) Imposition of International legal sanctions pending full Israeli Reparations and Compensatory Damages paid to the Government of Lebanon.

The UN Secretary-General should undertake immediately the establishment of a procedure for reparations of victims among the Lebanese civilians population, to be paid by Israel.

7) The UN should demand that Israel immediately hand over to UNIFIL and the Government of Lebanon full, current and detailed information, including firing logs, on the use, and of all coordinates of cluster munitions launched in Lebanon. The would enable timely clearance of unexploded ordnance (UXO), avert continued death tolls and injury, enable the return of displaced persons to their communities and the resumption of normal social and economic life.

8) The International community should give careful attention to the fate of child victims of the armed conflict. Specialized international institutions should work together to effectively assist the Lebanese government in the implementation of health programs, rehabilitation projects and mental health care initiatives for children.

9) The UN Secretary General should undertake an evaluation of the humanitarian assistance provided in Lebanon as a result of the July War with a view to enhancing the right to immediate and unlimited access to humanitarian assistance for civilians without interference from parties to the conflict.

10) Establishment of an International Criminal Tribunal for Israel (ICTI)

The researchers involved in this project join the many other analysts of what was done in Lebanon during July and August, 2006 and call for the United Nations General Assembly to immediately establish an International Criminal Tribunal for Israel.

The purpose of the ICTI would be to investigate and prosecute Israeli war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide against the Peoples of Lebanon and Palestine.

The ICTI would be organized along the lines of the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY). As Professor Francis A. Boyle has pointed out, the

establishment of the ICTI by the UN General Assembly would serve as a deterrent effect upon Israeli leaders such as Prime Minister Olmert, Defense Minister Peretz, Chief of Staff Halutz and Israel's other top generals that they will be prosecuted for their further infliction of international crimes upon the Lebanese and the Palestinians.

11) A Call for the establishment, by the Government of Lebanon, of a Radiation Monitoring, Testing and Evaluation Center in South Lebanon

Recent evidence of Israel's use of both Depleted and Enriched Uranium in Lebanon has revived concerns that Lebanon is again being used by Israel as a testing ground for experimental radioactive, dirty bombs or micro-yield nuclear weapons.

That Israel has used Depleted Uranium in Lebanon during July-August 2006 is a fact. Israel used US bunker-buster bombs in South Beirut neighborhoods and at Qana, Khiam and At Tiri. These bombs are hardened with Depleted Uranium to penetrate thick concrete and metal.

How much Israel used is not yet clear and the international community awaits data from the United States as the supplier of 83% of Israel's weapons and from Israel, the user, of these weapons.

At Khiam and At Tiri. Israel also used another type of uranium-based munitions. Samples of soil from Khiam and At-Tiri have now been preliminarily examined and found by the *European Committee on Radiation Risk (ECRR)* to have *elevated radiation signatures.* according to Dr. Chris Busby, the British Scientific Secretary for the ECRR.

The Harwell laboratory in Oxfordshire England, used by the UK Ministry of Defense, is now performing *mass spectrometry* and has also confirmed the concentration of uranium isotopes in the soil samples.

According to Dr. Busby's initial report there are two possible reasons for the contamination. The first is that the weapon was some novel small experimental nuclear fission device or other experimental weapon such as a thermobaric weapon, based on the high temperature of a uranium oxidation flash. Or that the

weapon was bunker-busting conventional uranium penetrator weapon employing enriched uranium rather than the less deadly depleted uranium. A photograph of the explosion of the first bomb at Khiam shows large clouds of black smoke with scientists suggest result from burning uranium.

What is disturbing is that the Khiam/At-Tiri soil samples showed an isotope ratio of 108 parts U-238 to one of U-235. This figure, according to experts, definitely indicates the presence of enriched uranium. Why did Israel use enriched uranium in addition to Depleted Uranium? Was it a mistake as some in Israel are suggesting? Another mistake like Qana or the UN Observer Post attack? Was it spent nuclear fuel from Dimona? Or supplied by the Untied States in an experimental weapon? Could it have been spent nuclear fuel from a power plant, a possibility suggested by Professor Chris Bellamy of England's Cranfield University?

During the summer of 2006, Israeli spokesmen regularly assured the international community that all the weapons it used were legal under norms of international law and were used in a way that discriminated between civilians and combatants, as announced by Israel's Ambassador to the US, in the most humane way ever carried by the armed forces of any country. Few people believe this given the fact that Israel has an awful reputation for telling the truth about its use of weapons in Lebanon.

Time after time, during the past quarter century, Israel has denied it used a particular restricted US weapon. Begin lied to Reagan in 1982 about using US cluster bombs against civilians. Sharon lied to Kissinger and Schultz the same year about using white phosphorus against civilians in 1982. Israel lied about the same subject again in 2006. Only later was Israel forced to admit their use after dispositive evidence was uncovered in Lebanon.

Contrary to the Israeli government view, the use of any of these weapons against Lebanon is illegal under international law because they are by their nature indiscriminate and affect civilians equally with combatants.

On October 27, 2006 Dr Busby stated that the health effects on the local civilian population following the use of uranium penetrators and the large amounts

546 of respirable uranium oxide particles in the atmosphere are likely to be significant. The radioactive particles spread over long distance and can be inhaled into the lungs. The military really seem to believe that this stuff is not as dangerous as it is. His Institute recommends that the whole areas of the South be examined for further traces of these weapons with a view to a massive clean up.

The reasons for the Government of Lebanon to immediately establish *a Radiation Monitoring and Analysis Center* in Southern Lebanon include:

A) The people of Lebanon, their country quite possibly being used once again as a weapons testing laboratory, have the right to know the truth about whether they can expect the horrific increases of diseases including respiratory problems, kidney problems, brain tumors, and Hodgkin and non-Hodgkin lymphoma, rashes, kidney and eye problems and various cancers that Depleted Uranium has caused to the people of Kuwait, Iraq, the Balkans and Afghanistan.

B) The Radiation Monitoring and Analysis Center would allow for early detection and possible life saving early treatment

C) The International Community and the American people have a right to know and to object, to sanction, and to possibly prevent the use of these weapons in the future.

12) A Call for an International Peace Commission on the Question of Palestine

The Arab-Israeli conflict, the occupation of Arab lands, of Palestinian lands, of Syrian lands, of Lebanese land is the cause of the problems that Israel has in the region and the core of the problems that the United States is now having in the region. And unless that problem is resolved, as some many of us have said for so long, no policies for reform, for democracy, for a new Middle East can possibly succeed.-

Queen Noor of Jordan

We propose, as was originally put forward by the *Council for the National Interest* in Washington DC, the establishment of an *International Peace*

Commission. This entity to be fully backed by the United States, the United Nations Security Council and Members of the European Union. Israel and the Arab League would be Members and its functions would be to bring the parties together in face to face negotiations, which would be the best way to resolve the issues between them. The Commission should remain seized of the Case and remain engaged until peace is achieved and all borders in the region are defined.

Cluster bombs gathered to be destroyed by mine sweepers in the suburbs of Tyre city in southern Lebanon, 6 October 2006.

Unexploded ordnance in southern Lebanon continues to pose great risks to civilians returning to their villages, according to the UN Mine Action Coordination Centre (UNMACC). It estimates that there are at least one million unexploded cluster bomblets in the area.

Photography: fplamb@gmail.com

83%
AMERICAN
WEAPONS

"Today the Arab peoples are afraid that the United States will back the new State of Israel in aggressive expansion. They are more fearful of Zionism than of Communism, and they fear the United States, lest we become the backer of expansionist Zionism...

US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles
June 1, 1953

PICTURE ABOVE: APARTMENT HOUSE AT AITA EL-CHAAB
Photography: fplamb@gmail.com

VIII APPENDIX

The information presented in the following documents supports the conclusions of the Report that the nature of the July war as a US-armed Israeli aggression against the civilian population of Lebanon.

CONTENTS:

A. List of unlawful killings/massacres of groups of civilians
B. Partial List of Unexploded American weapons found in Civilian areas of South Lebanon
C. Table showing Cluster Munitions strikes/dates/villages.
D. List of US Companies which manufacture the most deadly weapons transferred to Israel by the US
E. Preliminary assessment of infrastructure damages caused by American weapons: July/August 2006

UNLAWFUL KILLINGS OF SEPARATE GROUPS OF LEBANESE CIVILIANS CARRIED OUT BY THE ISRAELI ARMY USING AMERICAN WEAPONS DURING JULY-AUGUST 2006

International law defines a Massacre as a killing of a group of persons with intent or with such reckless or wanton abandon as to constitute intent. Israel's actions in the cases noted below are within that definition and requirement. Each of the attacks with American weapons constitutes a separate actionable war crime and each would be a separate charge before an International War Crimes Tribunal.

List of collective massacres perpetrated by Israeli Army in its attack against Lebanon in summer 2006

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
1	Aytaroun first massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	12-Jul	Houses of both Ali and Hassan Al-Akhrass	11 civilians	unknown	The family members of Hassan Al-Akrass hold the Canadian nationality and held a press conference in Montreal
2	Dweir massacre	Nabatiyeh/ South Lebanon	13-Jul	Ali Akkash house	12 civilians		An entire family was killed with children under 18
3	Zibkeen massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	13-Jul	Naim Bzeeh with its three floors	12 civilians	unknown	Corpses remained under the rubble till the end of the aggression
4	Shhour massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	13-Jul	Ali Khashab house	7 civilians	unknown	There were still corpses under the rubble
5	Baflay massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	13-Jul	Munir Zein	8 civilians	unknown	Amongst the victims there were two Kuwaitis
6	Yatar first massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	14-Jul	Abu-Akeel Sweydan	5 civilians	unknown	

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
7	Marwaheen massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	15-Jul	A convoy of civilians attempting to flee the village after Israeli warning to bomb Marwaheen	22 civilians	unknown	The convoy was struck in Bayyada
8	Civil Defense Building	Tyre/South Lebanon	16-Jul	8-storey building	12 civilians	50 wounded	Corpses remained under the rubble
9	Abbassiyeh crossroad massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	16-Jul	Building on the main road	13 civilians	unknown	
10	Abba massacre	Nabatiyeh /South Lebanon	16-Jul	Abed El-Aziz Tarheeni	10 civilians	12 civilians	Most of the victims belonged to the same family
11	Borj Shamali massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	16-Jul	Ramez Zayyat house	5 civilians	8 civilians unknown	Two newborns were killed Corpses were still under the rubble
12	Aytaroun Second massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	17-Jul	Houses of both Mohammed and Hassan Awada	13 civilians		
13	Rmayleh massacre		17-Jul	Convoy of displaced people trying to flee their villages heavily struck by air raids	12 civilians	unknown	Chemical bombs were thrown on a convoy of displaced people

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
14	Al-Hosh massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	17-Jul	Kodsi Villa	4 civilians	3 civilians	UNIFIL removed the rubble and pulled the corpses buried beneath the rubble
15	Shmeiss massacre	Shheem/ Mount Lebanon	17-Jul	Residential house	5 civilians	10 civilians	
16	Srifa massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	Night of 18-19 July	As-Sakna and Al Marj neighborhoods, the total demolition of more than 10 houses	More than 35 civilians	30 civilians	Corpses of victims remained for weeks, till rotting disintegrated
17	Aynatha massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	Night of July 19	Sami Darwish house	4 civilians	5 civilians	Corpses remained under the rubble
18	Salaa massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	19-Jul	Hassan Moustapha Ayyoub	6 civilians	unknown	Corpses remained under the rubble
19	Aytaroun third massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	19-Jul	Convoy of displaced feeling Aytaroun on the Borj Shamali road	4 civilians	2 civilians	
20	Maaraboun massacre	West Bekaa	19-Jul	Convoy of pickup trucks driven by farmers	7 civilians	2 civilians	
21	Nabatiyeh first massacre	Nabatiyeh/ South Lebanon	19-Jul	Down town Capitol commercial building	5 civilians	5 civilians	The raid targeted also an ambulance

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
22	Nabi Sheet massacre	West Bekaa	19-Jul	Hassan Shakar house	8 civilians	3 civilians	Amongst the victims there were displaced from Mayss Al-Jabal village, two entire families of 8 were killed
23	Tyre second massacre	Tyre/ South Lebanon	19-Jul	Residential areas in Tyre	20 civilians	unknown	Many corpses remained under the rubble for several days
24	Nabatiyeh second massacre	Nabatiyeh/ South Lebanon	25-Jul	House of Saad Mamzeh	7 civilians	unknown	
25	Haddatha massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	28-Jul	Hussein Mohammed Sabra house	6 civilians	unknown	The air raid targeted a religious place used for social occasions (called «Husseyniyeh») of the neighboring village, 6 members of the same family were killed
26	Kfarjoz massacre	Nabatiyeh/ South Lebanon	28-Jul	Dana Al-Khaleej Building	6 civilians	unknown	Many neighboring residential buildings were hit
27	Deir Kanoun Nahr massacre	Tyre/ South Lebanon	28-Jul	Abed Ezzedine house	4 civilians	unknown	

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
28	Yatar second massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	28-Jul	Internal houses and roads	4 civilians	unknown	
29	Noumeyriyyeh massacre	Nabatiyeh/ South Lebanon	29-Jul	Houses of both families Haraki and Bdeir	7 civilians	unknown	One entire family was killed in addition to neighbors
30	Ayn Arab massacre	Bekaa	29-Jul	Unidentified residential houses	6 civilians	3 wounded	Many corpses remained under the rubble for several days
31	Yaroun massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	30-Jul	A house where villagers were hiding seeking a safe haven	6 civilians	unknown	6mebers of the same family (Khanafer) were killed: 3 women and 3 children
32	New Qana massacre	Tyre/ South Lebanon	30-Jul	Shalhoub building (three-storey)	60 civilians	9 civilians at least	The victims were mainly from Shalhoub and Hashem families. Corpses remained under the rubble for several days
33	Hareess massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	31-Jul	Houses of Khalil Jawad and Ali Saaban	16 civilians	unknown	The 16 corpses of the two families remained under the rubble of the two residential houses

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
34	Halloussiyeh massacre	Tyre/South Lebanon	31-Jul	Hussein Mwanness	More than 13 civilians	unknown	All the corpses belonged to the same family (many of them were children under 12) and remained under the rubble for several weeks
35	Road massacre in Qoleyleh	Tyre/South Lebanon	31-Jul	Roads and vehicles between Qoleyleh and A-Jebbeyn	12 civilians		Amongst the victims there was a corpse of an 8 year old child)
36	Luweyzeh massacre	Ikleem Tuffah/ South Lebanon	01-Aug	Salim Hashem house	5 civilians	1 civilian	Corpses remained under the rubble for a while
37	Maaroub massacre	Tyre/ South Lebanon	01-Aug	Abdel-Hussein Taleb	5 civilians	unknown	
38	Baal beck massacre	Bekaa	Night August 1-2	A commandos operation on a hospital in Baalbeck killed civilians	17 civilians	8 civilians	The victims were only women, children and Syrian workers. Five innocent civilians were kidnapped and released later
39	Qaa massacre	Bekaa	04-Aug	Syrian workers who were packaging peaches	50 civilians	unknown	

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
40	Taybeh massacre	Marjeyoun/ South Lebanon	04-Aug	Two-storey residential house	7 civilians	10 civilians	The victims were elderly unable to leave their houses
41	Ayta Shaab massacre	Bint Jbeil/ South Lebanon	04-Aug	Residential house	10 civilians	unknown	Corpses remained under the rubble for a while
42	Ansar massacre	Nabatiyeh/ South Lebanon	06-Aug	Ibrahim Assi house	5 civilians	10 civilians	An entire family (Ibrahim Assi, his wife, his two daughters and their neighbors). Rescue workers who were pulling them were hit by another air strike that hit 9 neighboring houses
43	Al-Jubbeyn massacre	Tyre/ South Lebanon	06-Aug	House of Kassem Akeel	4 civilians	unknown	Air strikes hit heavily the village killing Kassem Akeel, his wife, his daughter and another victim

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
44	Houla massacre	Marjeyoun/ South Lebanon	07-Aug	Several residential houses, amongst them a shelter	5 civilians	unknown	60 persons who were hiding in a shelter and a social club «husseyniyeh» were miraculously rescued, while all surrounding buildings were totally destroyed by 6 heavy air strikes
45	Ghassaniyeh massacre	Saida/ South Lebanon	07-Aug	Abdallah Tohmeh house	8 civilians	unknown	An air strike hit at dawn Abdallah Khalil two-storey building killing him, his wife, his two sons, his two brothers and two others
46	Ghaziyeh first massacre	Saida/ South Lebanon	07-Aug	Residential neighborhoods	21 civilians	30 civilians	
47	Kfartebneet massacre	Nabatiyeh/ South Lebanon	07-Aug	Residential houses	5 civilians	18 civilians	7 houses were totally destroyed, Harouf village was targeted later
48	Breetal first massacre	Bekaa	07-Aug	Residential houses	14 civilians	31 civilians	Many houses were totally damaged, Shmestar village was targeted later

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
49	Shiyyah massacre	Beirut southern suburb	07-Aug	Hajjaj residential neighborhood	20 civilians	30 civilians	The death toll increased later since many corpses were removed beneath the rubble. Amongst the victims, there were displaced from Beer Al-Abed, Haret Hrayk, Hayy Mawad
50	Ghaziyeh second massacre	Saida/ South Lebanon	08-Aug	Air raids struck heavily on the funeral procession of the victims of the previous day air raids	14 civilians	24 civilians	
51	Mashgharah massacre	Bekaa	09-Aug	Four-storey building	8 civilians	unknown	The victims were all from the same family
52	Al-Hayssa massacre	Akkar /North Lebanon	11-Aug	Al-Hayssa bridge	12 civilians	15 civilians	
53	Marjeyoun convoy massacre	Bekaa	11-Aug	A displaced convoy heading to the Bekaa valley fleeing Marjeyoun area	7 civilians	32 civilians	The convoy was escorted by UN forces and had previous security clearance. It was constituted of more than 1500 civilian cars and 200 military cars

No.	Village	Region	Date	Targeted area	Number of killed	Number of wounded	Remarks
54	Rweyss massacre	Beirut southern suburb	13-Aug		15 civilians	unknown	The death toll increased later after pulling additional corpses from under the rubble. Amongst the people who were killed there were three newborns
55	Breetal second massacre	Bekaa	13-Aug	One residential building in Breetal	13 civilians	22 civilians	Five families were looking for a safe haven in the building that was struck heavily by Israeli air raids
56	Jamaliyyeh massacre	Bekaa	14-Aug	A van carrying civilians	7 civilians	7 civilians	The van was carrying displaced people

PARTIAL LIST OF UNEXPLODED AMERICAN WEAPONS FOUND IN CIVILIAN AREAS OF SOUTH LEBANON

The July-August Israeli war in Lebanon scattered more than 4.8 million American cluster bombs across the country and rightly caused an international humanitarian outcry. The reader should not lose site of that fact that there are also enormous quantities of other unexploded American weapons endangering the civilian population of Lebanon.

Below is a chart showing some of this ordnance which was seen and documented by researchers for this Report.
This list is presented for illustrative purposes. It is by no means exhaustive or complete. Many governmental organizations and non governmental organizations (NGO'S) deminers have also found large quantities, as has the Lebanese resistance and citizens.

Researchers were astonished to find and verify more than 45 unexploded MK 84 2000-lb bombs along with scores of smaller US bombs. Why so many did not detonate remains unclear.

The Mk 118 "Rockeye" cluster bombs and a small percentage of other munitions, as noted, were documented as having been used by Israel weeks before its July-August attack.

Please note that a small number of the Israeli made M 85 'Bantam', HEDP cluster bombs were used in areas where Israeli troops expected to occupy the ground. One version of this cluster bomb is designed with an inbuilt pyrotechnic self destruct mechanism so in theory it would self destruct and not injure later arriving Israeli ground troops. This mechanism obviously did not work in many instances.

As this cluster bomb was not supplied by the US, it is beyond the scope of this Report. However is delivered in US supplied delivery systems in the 155mm ER-projectiles which hold 63 M85's, and MLRS M 26 Rocket launcher which holds 518 M-85's in each 227mm tube. Each M 85 is filled with RDX-based High Explosive, the chemical found in most cluster bombs.

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
2	2006/07/28	_	Saida	Zrariya	mortar shell 120 mm ill
					mortar shell 60 mm ill
3	2006/11/30	_	Saida	Zrariya	grenade 40 mm
1	2006/11/30	_	Saida		grenade 40 mm
					mortar shell 52 mm
1	2006/11/30	_	Saida	Zrariya	mortar shell 52 mm HE
2	2006/11/30	_	Saida	Zrariya	mortar shell 81 mm ill
					mortar shell 120 mm ill
4	2006/11/06	_	Marjayoun	Marjayoun	N4 A/P MINE
1	2006/02/14	_	Marjayoun	Deir Mimas	120 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/07/02	_	Haisbaya	Kafarchouba	EXPLOSIVE OF BOMB
3	2006/02/27	_	Marjayoun	Tayba	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
1	2006/01/02	_	Haisbaya	Haibariya	81 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/01/02	_	Haisbaya	Haibariya	155 MM CLUSTER SHELL
1	2006/01/02	_	Haisbaya	Haibariya	81 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/08/02	_	Beint jbeil	Yater	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
5	2006/01/01	2006/01/25	Rachaya	Mdoukha	M43 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/01/01	2006/01/25	Rachaya	Mdoukha	M42 CLUSTER BOMB
24	2006/01/01	2006/01/25	Rachaya	Zeimraya	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
20	2006/08/03	_	Baabda	Kafarselyan	CLUSTER BOMB MK 118
1	2006/03/18	_	Jezeine	Ain Al Taugra	N4 A/P MINE
4	2006/03/13	_	Haisbaya	Haisbaya	500 POUND BOMB
10	-	_	Nabatieh	Arab Salim	500 POUND BOMB

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
1	2006/01/03	_	Marjayoun	Deir Mimas	M15 A/T MINE
1	2006/02/28	_	Marjayoun	Deir Mimas	M6 A/T MINE
1	2006/03/06	_	Jezeine	Jabal Safi	81 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/03/07	_	Nabatieh	Kaferman	M43 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/03/05	2006/03/17	Marjayoun	Kabrikha	120 MM HE MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/03/20	2006/03/28	Nabatieh	Kafareman	52 MM MORTAR SHELL
6	2006/03/03	_	Jezeine	Daraya	MK 118 CLUSTER BOMB
6	2006/03/17	2006/04/01	Marjayoun	Elman	N4 A A/P MINE
1	2006/03/24	_	Beint jbeil	Kafra	81 MM WP MORTAR SHELL
1	2006/03/26	_	Sour	Al Mansouri	81 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/03/16	_	Nabatieh	Habouch	MK 82 500 POUND BOMB
4	2006/03/21	_	Jezeine	Jeirnaya	HAND GRENADE
3	2006/03/22	_	Beint jbeil	Sarbin	81 MM MORTAR SHELL
1	2006/03/30	_	Beint jbeil	Kafra	ILL MINE
2	2006/01/03	_	Marjayoun	Gandouriya	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/01/14	_	Haisbaya	Kafarchouba	BANTAM CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/01/14	_	Haisbaya	Kafarchouba	BANTAM CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/01/14	_	Haisbaya	Kafarchouba	BANTAM CLUSTER BOMB
6	2006/01/17	2006/01/18	Haisbaya	Kafarchouba	BANTAM CLUSTER BOMB
5	2006/01/17	2006/01/18	Haisbaya	Kafarchouba	120 MMHE MORTAR SHELL 81 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL
5	2006/01/17	2006/01/18	Haisbaya	Kafarchouba	120 MMHE MORTAR SHELL 81 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
					120 MM MORTAR SHELL
					BODY OF 120 MM MORTAR SHELL
1	2006/01/03	_	Beint jbeil	Safad el Batikh	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
4	2006/01/03	_	Beint jbeil	Safad el Batikh	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/12/04	_	Beint jbeil	Kheirbet silm	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
2	2006/12/04	_	Sour	Sour el Boustan	60 MM MORTAR SHELL
1	2006/04/14	_	Beint jbeil	Beint Jbeil	PROJECTILE
1	2006/04/16	_	Beint jbeil	Kafra	60 MM SHELL
2	2006/04/21	_	Marjayoun	Debine	SMOKE CONTAINER
1	2006/01/05	_	Jezeine	Al Rihan	155 MM SHELL
3	2006/07/03	_	Jezeine	Sfaray	60 MM HE ,ILL SHELL
1	2006/04/04	_	Jezeine	Jezeine	MK 118 CLUSTER BOMB
3	2006/10/04	_	Jezeine	Kafarhouna	82 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/04/24	_	Beint jbeil	Tiri	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/04/25	_	Marjayoun	Boueida	N4 A/P MINE
3	2006/11/04	_	Jezeine	Daraya	52 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/11/04	_	Jezeine	Daraya	MK 118 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/04/13	_	Jezeine	Daraya	MK 118 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/05/30	_	Nabatieh	Kafarouman	60 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL
1	2006/02/05	_	Nabatieh	El chakif	60 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/02/05	_	Marjayoun	Kouleiaa	105 MM TANK
1	2006/02/05	_	Nabatieh	Arab Salim	60 MM MORTAR SHELL ILL
1	2006/02/05	_	Nabatieh	Arab Salim	120 MM MORTAR SHELL

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
2	2006/04/05	_	Beint jbeil	Majdel silm	155 MM SHELL
3	2006/04/05	_	Marjayoun	Elman	52 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/06/05	_	Sour	Arzoun	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/07/05	_	Marjayoun	Marjayoun	FUZE
1	2006/11/05	_	Beint jbeil	Beit Yahoun	N4A A/P MINE
1	2006/05/14	_	Sour	Beiyada	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/05/18	_	Beint jbeil	Haris	120 MM TAIL
1	2006/05/23	_	Nabatieh	Harouf	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
2	2006/05/23	_	Nabatieh	Habouch	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
2	2006/05/29	_	Beint jbeil	Aitaroun	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL SMOKE
2	2006/05/29	_	Beint jbeil	Aitaroun	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
1	2006/05/29	_	Beint jbeil	Aitaroun	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
1	2006/05/29	_	Marjayoun	Kheyam	FLARE
3	2006/05/29	_	Beint jbeil	Maroun El Raes	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
1	2006/05/30	_	Sour	El Heniya	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
1	2006/05/30	_	Marjayoun	Deir Siryan	52 MM MORTAR
1	2006/05/30	_	Marjayoun	Deir Siryan	DIFFERENCE SHELL AND ROQUETTE BODY
2	2006/06/01	_	Beint jbeil	Eita El Chaeb	105 MM TANK ROUND
2	2006/06/05	_	Jezeine	Mlikh	82 MM SHELL
1	2006/07/05	_	Nabatieh	Ktarani	120 MM WP MORTAR SHELL
1	2006/08/05	_	Jezeine	Mleikh	155 MM SHELL
1	2006/11/05	_	Jezeine	Daraya	MK 118 CLUSTER BOMB
3	2006/05/22	_	Jezeine	Jabal Safi	MORTAR SHELL

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
2	2006/06/12	_	Nabatieh	Jbeaa	120 MM MORTAR SHELL
4	2006/05/29	_	Jezeine	Kafarfalouth	N4A A/P MINE
2	2006/03/06	_	Marjayoun	Serda	FLARE
3	2006/03/06	_	Marjayoun	Serda	120 MM MORTAR SHELL
6	2006/06/06	_	Marjayoun	Serda	60 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL
4	2006/06/15	_	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	120 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/06/15	_	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	EXPLOSIVES
32	2006/06/21	2006/06/29	Beint jbeil	Tebnin	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
2	2006/06/25	_	Nabatieh	Kafartebniet	120 MM ILL MORTAR SHELL BODY
5	2006/06/27	_	Sour	Yarin	HAND AND RIFLE GRENADE
3	2006/06/28	_	Sour	Chameh	120 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/06/29	_	Marjayoun	El Kleyaa	75 MM TANK ROUND
2	2006/06/29	_	Marjayoun	El Kleyaa	TANK ROUND AND MORTAR SHELLS
2	2006/06/30	_	Beint jbeil	Barachit	81 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/06/30	_	Marjayoun	Teiba	60 MM MORTAR SHELL
8	2006/01/06	2006/06/26	Jezeine	Jezeine	23 MM G/A
1	2006/05/06	_	Jezeine	Soujd	120 MM MORTAR SHELL
2	2006/06/06	2006/06/26	Jezeine	Jezeine	MK 118 CLUSTER BOMB
2	2006/03/06	_	Jeb Jennine	El Kiraoun	MK 118 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/03/06	_	Rachaya	El Mouheidtha	60 MM MORTAR SHELL
4	2006/06/20	_	Rachaya	Racha El Foukhar	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
12	2006/04/18	2006/06/10	Rachaya	Daher el Ahmar	M43 CLUSTER BOMB
4	2006/05/31	_	Haisbaya	El Ahmadiya	52 MM MORTAR SHELL

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
9	2006/04/17	2006/06/14	Haisbaya	Zimraya	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/04/19	_	Haisbaya	Bargaz	155 MM HOWTZER SHELL
1	2006/04/27	_	Haisbaya	Zimraya	FUZE
7	2006/08/14	_	Baabda	Haret Houreik-1	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
14	2006/08/14	_	Baabda	Haret Houreik-2	2000 POUND MK 84 BOMB
9	2006/08/13	_	El Chouf	El Damour	1000 POUND MK83 BOMB
6	2006/08/18	_	Saida	Adloun	SMOKE GRENADE
6	2006/07/13	_	Saida	EL Zahrani	MK 83
1	2006/11/08	_	Beyrouth	Koureitim	LEAFTET BOMB
8	2006/08/20	_	Bekaa	Sagbin	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
16	2006/08/20	_	Bekaa	souhmaur	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
8	2006/07/16	_	Keysryan	Kaadet Jounieh	PIECES OF HELFIRE AGM 114/C MISSILE
6	2006/08/19	_	Beint jbeil	Safad el Batikh	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
18	2006/08/17	2006/08/26	Sour	El Heiniya	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB M42 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/08/17	_	Sour	El Kharayeb	MK84 BOMB
9	2006/08/19	_	Marjayoun	Khardelih	DISPENSER + FUZE
2	2006/08/18	_	Marjayoun	El Khiyam	155 MM HOWTZER SMOKE SHELL
1	2006/08/21	_	Sour	El Zrariya	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
6	2006/08/18	_	Saida	El Zeihrani	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
13	2006/08/14	2006/08/15	Jezeine	El Sreira-1	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
7	2006/08/19	2006/08/20	Sour	El Ebasiya	M77 CLUSTER BOMB 1000 POUND MK 83 BOMB

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
6	2006/08/15	_	Beint jbeil	El Gandouriya	A/T
1	2006/08/19	_	Nabatieh	El Kaakaiya	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
1	2006/08/17	_	Marjayoun	El Kouleila	155 MM SHELL
10	2006/08/17	2006/08/26	Sour	El Kouleila	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
					M26 ROQUETTE
2	2006/08/17	_	Baabda	El Mouchrefa	BOMB
1	2006/08/18	_	Nabatieh	Nabatieh	1000 POUND MK83 BOMB
2	2006/08/19	_	Sour	El Beiyada	SUSPECTED MUNITIONS
8	2006/08/17	2006/08/24	Nabatieh	Ansar	M 77
5	2006/08/19	_	Sour	Bourej Rahal	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
11	2006/08/19	2006/08/25	Sour	Bourej Khelayeiya	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
6	2006/08/14	2006/08/24	Baalabak	Baalabak	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
3	2006/08/17	_	Saida	Beinafoul	2000 POUND MK84 BOMB
2	2006/08/18	_	Nabatieh	Toul	500 POUND MK82 BOMB
9	2006/08/22	2006/08/24	Jezeine	Joubeih	500 POUND MK82 BOMB
16	2006/08/20	_	Sour	Jibal El Batem	
17	2006/08/18	_	Nabatieh	Habouch	2000 POUND BOMB
4	2006/08/21	_	Beint jbeil	Heinayeya	2000 POUND BOMB
3	2006/08/25	_	Beint jbeil	Houmein	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
7	2006/08/16	_	Beint jbeil	Houmein Fouka	CLUSTER BOMB
11	2006/08/23	_	Bekaa	Zeilaya-1	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
4	2006/08/23	_	Bekaa	Zeilaya-2	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
6	2006/08/11	_	Bekaa	Daher el Ahmar	EXPLODED MUNITION

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
5	2006/08/20	_	Bekaa	Eitanit	2000 POUND BOMB
1	2006/04/07	_	Bekaa	Lebaya	130 MM SHELL
2	2006/08/16	_	Bekaa	Meidoun-1	227 MM CLUSTER
3	2006/08/14	_	Bekaa	Meidoun-2	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
2	2006/08/15	_	Bekaa	Meidoun-3	FUZE
8	2006/08/19	_	Nabatieh	Zeifta	500 POUND MK82 BOMB
12	2006/08/18	2006/08/25	Nabatieh	Zoutar	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
10	2006/08/15	2006/08/17	Jezeine	Soujed	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
45	2006/08/15	2006/08/26	Beint jbeil	Sreifa	1000 POUND BOMB
					FUZE
					MOD 4 750 POUND BOMB
					BANTAM CLUSTER BOMB
12	2006/08/21	2006/08/25	Sour	Sour	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
27	2006/08/20	2006/08/21	Sour	Teir Deba	M42 CLUSTER BOMB FLARE + FUZE
8	2006/08/21	_	Nabatieh	Adchit	750 POUND BOMB
					500 POND BOMB
12	2006/08/16	_	Nabatieh	Arab Salim	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
					500 POUND BOMB
3	2006/08/25		Sour	Bourj Keilayeiya	1000 & 2000 POUND BOMB
28	2006/08/15	2006/08/20	Nabatieh	Kafarreman	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
16	2006/08/18	2006/08/20	Nabatieh	Kafarseir	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
					BOMB
					120 MM TANK ROUND

# found	Found date		Gaza	PLACE	Description
	from	to			
5	2006/08/17	–	Marjayoun	Kafarkela	155 MM
8	2006/08/19	2006/08/22	Saida	Kaousareith El Seiyed	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
5	2006/08/19	–	Sour	Maarakah	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
39	2006/08/14	2006/08/25	Nabatieh	Yahmour	M77 CLUSTER BOMB
2	2006/08/19	–	Sour	El Beiyada	SUSPECTED MUNITIONS
11	2006/08/18	2006/08/21	Marjayoun	El Khouleiha	155 MM SHELL
34	2006/08/19	2006/08/21	Marjayoun	El Kheiyam-1	120 MM TANK ROUND
					120 MM tank round
					155 MM
17	2006/08/19	2006/08/21	Marjayoun	El Kheiyam-2	2000 POUND
34	2006/08/23	–	Marjayoun	El Kheiyam-3	500 POUND BOMB
					155 MM SHELL
13	2006/08/27	–	Marjayoun	El Kheiyam-4	2000, 750 POUND BOMB
31	2006/08/24	2006/08/27	Marjayoun	El Kheiyam-5	155 MM WP
					120 MM TANK ROUND
2	2006/08/29	–	Marjayoun	El Kheirdali	DETANATOR + TIME FUZE
9	2006/08/28	–	Haisbaya	Rachaya El Foukhar	BLU 63 CLUSTER BOMB
30	2006/08/19	2006/08/21	Marjayoun	Deir Mimas	M42 CLUSTER BOMB
3	2006/08/29	–	Marjayoun	Ein Jarfa	M42 CLUSTER BOMB

LEBANESE FACTORIES DAMAGED BY AMERICAN WEAPONS: JULY-AUGUST 2006

According to the Lebanese Ministry of Industry, which conducted a survey on the Industrial Sector Damages, 192 factories, 118 of which were totally damaged and 74 partially damaged.

All production sectors were badly affected by American weapons, including the food sector (28 factories), construction projects sector (21 factories), clothing sector (21 factories) and furniture and wood sector (27 factories).

The number of workers in the damaged Factories is about 5,179, some of whom are administrative employees, engineers, technicians, skilled workers, ordinary and seasonal workers, as well as owners who work in their damaged institutions'.

99% of these factories were not insured against war and 81 of the factories are in debt to a bank or financial institutions or to both. The debt on these factories is estimated at approximately 388 billon Lebanese pounds.

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
BEKAA	Elba Middle East SAL	Building Roads and Transportation, Equipments		22
	Amwaj Leban (Taanayeh)	Stones - Industry (Cutting, shapping)		27
	Alarz Lilnasij (Cedars Textile SARL) (Rashayya Alwadi)	Textile	US$ 8 million	10 + (15 to 25)
	Dallal Steel (Teanayedh)	Prefab Houses	US$ 25 million	66
	Florence for General Trade (Sollan Yaaoub)	Furniture		18 + 10
	Maliban SAL (Teanayel)	Glass Bottles		227
	Lamartine (Teanayel)	Food (Gum and Sweets)	US$ 4,5 million	60
	Liban Lait	Dairy Products		286
	L>Origine Cos, Sal (Taanayel/ IZ)	Cosmetics, Perfume, Detergent, Plastic containers & Furnitures		43
	Mr. Hassan About Akar Est (Taanayel)	Granite & Marble & Gravel		18
	Muller (Teaneyil)	Food/Ice Cream		66
	Central Plast	Nylon Bags		9
	Turner SARL (Teaneyil)	Glass Raw Material	US$ 5,5 million	5
	Turner SARL (Teaneyil)	Glass Raw Material	US$ 5,5 million	5
	Marzoua Mansour Co. and Sons	Refrigeration - Imp./Exp.		9

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
SOUTH	Plati Med. /(Tyre)	Medical Supply, Med Baggs for Serum	US$ 12 million	91
	Pastech (Tyre)	Past Capsules/Med. use		20
	Fine (Nagul Bros Co. Ldt) (Jizin)	Paper Products - Tissues	US$ 10 million	247
	Balhas (1659/?) DFB (1862/?)	Wood (Trade & Industry)	US$ 1,606,802	10
	Olive Mill (Kolayah)	Olive Oil Production		15
	Olive Oil Mill & Wheat & Bourghoul Mill (Rachava al Fakhar)	Olive oil, Flour & Bourghoul		4
		Gas Bottling		5
	Elias Jirjis Elias for Slab and Marble	Slab and Marble		6
	Abdel Amir Abo Ghida Mill for Cereals zaatar and kishik (Khiyem)	Mill		3
	Nassouh Fahed Waked factor for Yougart and Cheese	Dairy Products		4
	Ali Amin Kanso factory for Biscuits and sweets	Biscuits and sweets		4
	Ali Hussein Khsheysh for Iron Industry (Khiyem)	Iron Industry		4
	Imad Ghosson Factory for pickles (Khiyem)	Preserved Vegetables/ Pickles		5
	Kazaal Carpentry (Toul)	Carpentry and Sawing (furniture)		11
	Hassan Diab & Wassim Ismael factory for Stone and Marble (Nabathieh)	Stone and Marble sawing		8

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
SOUTH	Ali Kassim Alhussein Factory for Cement Blocks (Kantara)	Cement Blocks		4
	Hussein Ftouni Stone Sawing Factory (Al Tybeh)	Stone Sawing		2
	Makhrattat Roumani (Habbouch)	Stones & Hydraulic Pressing		4
	Cement Mixing Factory (Ebel al Siki)	Ready Cement		12
	Ezzat Mohammad Ali Khraiss Factory for Iron Industry (Khiam)	Iron Industry		
	Al Rim Factory for Iron Industry (Dbine)	Iron Industry		2
	APZ for Furniture Industry (Adloun)	Furniture & Decoration		103
	Naamalhallah Abdallah for Stone Sawing	Stone Sawing & Building Blocks		11
	Assad Khalil Farhat & Sons	Asphalt Mixer		10
	Hassan Hussein Issa Garage (Khiyem)	Pressinh Hydraulic Tubes		1
	Alrihani Est. For pinting & publishing (Nabatieh)	Printing and seals		3
	Fouad Houmani for Cement Blocks (Nabatieh)	Cement Blocks		13
	Olive Mill Khiyem)	Olive Oil		9
	Alpha Group Co. SARL (Tyre)	Marble, Granite, Mozaique		17
	Al Gondoline Sweets (Sayda)	Food/Arab Sweets		56

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
CHOUEIFAT	Helouani Transtec	Refrigerator		8
	Middle East Cold Stores SARL	Preserving Storing, Packaging		42
	IJAKO PLAST	Plast/Med		7
	Lebanese Co. for Carton Mince & Industry	Papers, Plastic, Aluminium		13
	Serum Products SARL (SOLUPAC)	Serum		52
	Lebanese Electrical Industries (L.E.I.)	Electrical Equipment		8
	International Timber COOP Sinno SARL	Wood	US$ 1,2 million	9
	Sarno Belt Est.	Belts and Clothing		41
	SAAB Co. Ltd.	Cement		10 + 2
	Competencies Company Industry & Trading (Kafaat)	Shoes		
	Mcheik Company for Trading and Industry Ltd.	Marble Trade		6
	ARACO Asfalt Lebanese SAL	Asfal and Shoes		26
	Pepsi Cola/SML C SAL	Pepsi Cola	US$ 484, 178,000	647

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
Southern Suburbs of Beirut	Issam & Partners SARL (Harat Hrek-Kasis St.)	Shoes Accessories		35
	Issam Est for Industry & Economics (Harat Hrek-Kasis St.)	Clothing (Trade and Industry)		22
	Electra for Industry & Trade (Harat Hrek)	Electrical Equipment		41
	A.O. Gandour Sons SAL	Food		38
	Lebanese Paper Products Co. SAL	Paper		24
	Faraj for Trade and Industry	Shoes and Bags		16
	Spot (Ruwals	Shoes		13
	FARES BROS for Trade and Industry (Ghoubeiry)	Shoes Manufacturing needs Plastic		35
	Batal Design (Harat Hrek)	Furniture		16
	Fawzieh Fouldakar Estbmnt (Haret Hreik)	Book recovering, Sheathing		32
	Al Tarikh al Arabi for Printing	Printing, recovering, selling. Books		25
	Dar Ihyaa al Turath al Arabi (Haret Hreik)	Printing and Books		17
	Maktabat Jreir (Haret Hreik)	Books & School Materials		-
	BAZMAT (Flora)	Insecticide		11
	SECUROL Liban	Glass Curtain		16
	Boulangerie-Patisserie Château d'Or de Haret Hrek	Bakery and Pastries		18
	Mouslamani Est for Industry & Trade (Haret Hrekj)			13

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
Southern Suburbs of Beirut	La Reine (Chiah)	Papers (Cutting & Packaging)		17
	Makli Auto Parts (Haret Hrekj) ZR	Car Parts		3
	Mohammad Alaouie Est (Haret Hrekj)	Clothing & Textiles & Tailors Supplies		30
	Zelna Tex	Clothing		17
	Jaber Broderie	Knitting & Sewing		4
	Factory Youssef Hallad (Haret Hrekj)	Clothing		21
	Faco for Trade & Industry (Haret Hrekj)	Clothing		50
	Lord	Clothing		about 15
	Golden Dragon Co.	Clothing		20
	Rotex	Clothing (Trade & Industry)	US$ 7 million	58
	Al Hadaf Industries	Clothing (Trade & Industry)	US$ 4 million	42
	Maestro (Haret Hrekj)	Shoes	US$ 600,000	16
	White Shoe	Shoes		8
	Triko Starlet Company (Haret Hrekj)	Clothing	US$ 2,500,000	22
	LOGIX (Haret Hrekj)	Printing		10
	Mr. Khodr Hammoud Est. (Haret Hrekj)	Furnitures (Home & Offices)		25
	Wazni Trading & Jewellery Manufacturing & Co. (Chiah)	Fabricating and Gathering Jewellery from Diamonds and Precious Stones		16

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
Southern Suburbs of Beirut	Ets. Fouad El-Baayno pour Reliure	Books covering		60
	Assi Bros Co. (Haret Hrekj)	Furniture		18
	Tricot Magic (Haret Hrekj)	Clothes & Socks		26
	Tricot Dima (Haret Hrekj)	Knitting & Sewing Industry, Knitting Accessories		-
	Ets. F.R. Annan (Bourj al Barajina)	Tubes and Kitchen		8
	Al Farah Est. And Factory for Furnitures (Haret Hrekj)	Furnitures		8
	Maximum for Industry & Trade (Haret Hrekj)	Clothing	US$ 600,000	34
	Chami Est for Industry	Shoes & Accessories		25
	Verruca Shoes (Haret Hrekj)	Shoes		17
	Dar el Fikr S.a. (Haret Hrekj)	Publishing, distribution, Printing & covering		194
	Trussadia for Industry & Commerces SARL (Haret Hrekj-Kasis St.)	Clothing (Trade & Industry)	US$ 3 million	30
	Bassim Nassireddin for trade (Ouzael)	Papers & Plastic		10
	Youssif Baydoun, Printing Press (Haret Hrekj)	Printing		27
	Moulins Chahrazad	Mill/Pepper, Cereals		5
	Tricot Orient Star (Haret Hrekj)	Clothing		5
	Dar Sobh for Printing & Publishing (Haret Hrekj)	Printing, Publishing & Distributing		25

Region /Address	Name of the Establishment	Activity	Primarily damage assessment by Owners	Number of Employees
Southern Suburbs of Beirut	Jawad Bros Co. for Industry & Clothing (Haret Hrekj)	(Tricot Factory) Trade		6
	Hizzam Al Dine Est (Haret Hrek)	Tissues, Curtains (Sewing) & Furnitures		21
	Khalifeh Est for Printing	School and Commercial Paper Books Industry		11
	Sweid for Design (Haret Hrekj)	Curtain Tissus Factory (Sewing), Design & Furniture		8
	Al Nameh Modern Bakery (Haret Hrekj)	Bakery Products & Pastry		10
	Wissam Co. for Industry & Trade Sally Shoes (Haret Hrekj)	Shoes Industry		14
	Al Chaabane Sweets Factory for Trade (Haret Hrekj)	Pastry & Chocolate		5
	Al Hage Ahmad Fathallah & Sons Factory	Doors Manufacturing Industry		12
	Chik Top (Haret Hrekj)	Clothing Industry		12
	Al Hara Factory for Aluminium (Haret Hrekj)	Aluminium Industry		2
	Rabieh Bneir for Curtains (Haret Hrekj)	Curtains Sewing Industry		5
CHOUF	Limpex & Anan Enterprises S.a. (Haret Hrekj)	Paper (cutting, rolling, etc.)		25
	Petro Rubber	Rubber		

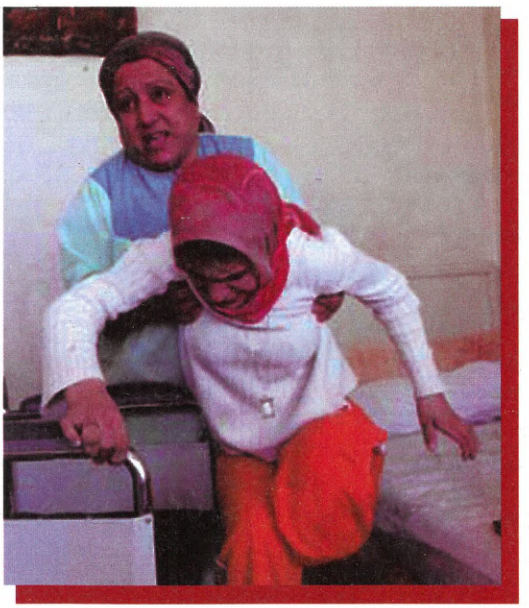
Below lists US Companies which manufacture key weapons for Israel paid for by American taxpayers and the quantity of these weapons believed to be in Israel's arsenal.

Company	Unit cost for American Taxpayer/ number in Israel's Arsenal
Lockheed Martin	
F-16 fighter aircraft ▪ Destroyer mobile rocket launchers ▪ Hellfire missiles ▪ Multiple-Launch rocket systems	370 $ 40 million $ 100,000 - $150,0000 n/a $ 20.5 million n/a
Raytheon ▪ AIM-120 advanced medium - range air-to-air missiles ▪ Maverick air-to-surface missiles ▪ Sidewinder heat-seeking air-to-air missiles ▪ GBU-28 5,000-pound	**$ 620,000 n/a** **$ 200,000 n/a** **$ 211,290 n/a** **$300,000**
Bunker-buster bombs with Depleted Uranium	**100**
United Technologies Black Hawk helicopters	**$ 12.3 million** **48**
AH-64 Apache helicopters	**$ 15.3 million** **44**
F-15 Fighter aircraft	**$ 38 million** **93**
Joint Direct Attack Munitions ("smart bomb" kits)	**$ 27.500** **n/a**
Textron AH-1 Cobra attack helicopter	**$ 10. 7 million** **83**
General Dynamics M-60A3 tanks	**$743,000**

To 16-year-old Rasha Zayoun, the small metal canister with a ribbon attached to the top looked like a toy. Her father, Mohammed, had found it while harvesting wild thyme in a field near her house in the southern Lebanese village of Marakeh, and had taken it home in his bag of herbs on January 15, 2007.

Rasha picked up the strange object and played with the ribbon, wondering what it was. «Then I felt a tingle of electricity,» she says. «I threw it from me and it exploded before it hit the floor.»

The blast tore off her left leg and wounded her mother, Alia, and brother Qassem, 21, who were in the room at the time. The «toy» of course was a US cluster bomblet, just one of the estimated 1 million unexploded sub-munitions still scattered across the valleys and hills of south Lebanon during last summer's war between Israel and Hezbollah. At least 30 people have been killed and over 180 wounded since the Aug. 14 ceasefire ended the month-long conflict according to the UN. Israel has to date refused US, UN and international calls to supply Lebanon with its 'firing logs' for these US supplied bombs.



“How many roads can a man walk down, pretending he just does not see? The answer, my friend, is blowing in the wind, the answer is blowing in the wind.

Song writer, Bob Dylan

Photography: Hugh Chatfield with special thanks to Agence France-Press

It is quite possible that Dr. Lamb knows rather more precisely what Israel has done with American weapons over the past quarter century in Lebanon than the Israeli government itself knows or would admit. Lamb's own government would do well to heed his counsel and end its complicity in serial Israeli war crimes against the civilian population of Lebanon and Palestine.

Dr. Lamb's latest book, The Price We Pay, is more than a detailed information of what Israel has done to Lebanon and the region with American weapons. It tells of the struggle American people are going through to regain their freedom and to recover their country from the hands of Zionists.

M. el-Hafi, Palestinian Refugee from Jaffa, Palestine living in Lebanon

Dr. Lamb's latest book is encyclopedic in its presentation of detailed information of what Israel has done to Lebanon and the region with American weapons. He rightly puts the question of how his government can reconcile its genuflection to the Israel lobby with the fundamental enlightenment values on which America was founded. The Price We Pay is an eye opener and provides compelling information and analysis for the current and future US administrations to consider as its people and the region continue to pay dearly, in so many ways, for America's misguided Middle East Policy.

Sari Chreich, Tarshina, Palestine
Palestine Cultural Club, American University of Beirut

A Report...so that Americans might know... that during 33 days in the summer of 2006 more than 88 percent of all those recorded killed by Israel in Lebanon were civilians—one third of them children.....
Carrying out their normal livelihood activities in places they go everyday...
More than 100 towns and villages were bombed with U.S. weapons used in flagrant violation of American and International law...
More than 90 percent of cluster bombs—nearly all of them American— were fired in a frenzy of carelessness, frustration, racism, and hatred during the war's last 72 hours, when the UN ceasefire was accepted as imminent.
Our country can do better...let's take back America's Middle East policy.

AMERICANS CONCERNED FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE